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## PREFACE

**B**Y a lucky accident the editors had their attention drawn to an important monument of Indian miniature-painting which had for long been unknown, and they thought they ought to make it accessible to a wider circle by devoting a special publication to it. They hoped from their experience of working together that their work would, in more than one respect, be of use for the study of the last good period of Indian art under the Moghul Emperors, but they anticipated that many questions raised by the consideration of Jahangir's Album would for some time have to remain unanswered.

As it was wholly concerned with unpublished material, special attention had to be paid to the reproductions, and if the work is more elaborate in this respect than was originally intended thanks are due to the kind help of Dr. Milkau and Dr. Pretzsch, Curator and Assistant Curator of the Prussian State Library, and to the self-sacrifice and indefatigable efforts of Herr W. Grote-Hasenbalg. The authors are also indebted to Professor Vogel of the University of Leyden, to Professor von Lecoq of the Indian section and Dr. Bock of the Copper Engraving section of the State Museum in Berlin.

The part of each editor in writing the text is shown to some extent in the list of contents ; in the chapters signed by both each author contributes on his own subject. The work of editing has been undertaken by E. Kühnel.

E. KÜHNEL. H. GOETZ.



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## CHAPTER 1

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Page 18b : The Emperor Jahāngīr  
(1605-1627)





## Description of the Album, its Date and Origin

THE album which is the subject of this book was, owing to an accident, wrongly placed in the Map Department of the Prussian Library (under the entry "Libri pict. A. 117") and there remained, unused until now, in spite of its value for the history of the art and civilization of Muhammadan India. It stands out clearly through its careful arrangement and large size ( $40 \times 53\frac{1}{2}$  cm.) from most of the similar collections, with which, however, it is on the whole connected by the arrangement of its contents. Here, as in other such albums, are specimens of writing, miniatures, and copper-plate engravings pasted together, but besides that, all the surrounding margins of the pages are enriched with fine paintings in gold. The fashion for such albums doubtless came from China, spread towards 1500 into Persia, and from there soon reached India, where gradually it became more and more widely adopted, and the fashion continued till into the nineteenth century.

We are here concerned with twenty-five folios in all, each one decorated on both sides, the centre being filled sometimes with calligraphy and sometimes with miniatures. Moreover, there can hardly have been any definite principle in the arrangement of the combined material. There is neither a sequence of subjects, nor are they placed side by side from any artistic point of view. Only in the case of a few of the border designs does there seem to have been any importance attached to æsthetic considerations as regards the centre piece, and by the use of different shades of paper an attempt was made to enhance the harmony where possible. In any case, the chief excellence of our album consists in the fact that it comes from the best period of Moghul painting, and this is especially the case with the borders; whereas most of the other remaining specimens of this kind are much later and merely show mechanical schemes of decoration.

We often find several pictures—generally portraits—joined together in the middle, the joins effaced by painting over them; often too when a centre was too small for the intended frame additions were made to it, not always with the necessary care, and consequently in a way easy to detect. Where it was worth while to enhance the richness of the border decoration, it was not thought enough to enliven the design discreetly with different motives painted in gold, but water colour was brought in to help, with representations of figures. A stronger colour tone is found in the borders, especially in those pages where the centre is a specimen of writing, while the others, in which they serve as a frame to a miniature, stand back from the latter not only in their proportions but especially in their choice of motives.

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We shall speak of technical peculiarities later, when discussing questions belonging to the history of art. What follows is first a short description of the separate pages, to give the reader a general idea of the contents and their arrangement. We would point out that the numbering goes from left to right—in our usual direction—for as we are dealing with an arbitrary assemblage of pictures it is of no importance whether the pages of the Album are indexed in the European or the Oriental way.

Page 1a. Centre : Specimen of writing on an ornamental ground in Taliq, signed Faqīr Mīr 'Alī, surrounded by Persian verses in small writing.

Border : Rocks, with trees and birds, painted in gold, amongst them a few figures in colour. (Pl. 28.)

Page 1b. Centre : The Holy Family with St. John. Miniature (Pl. 41), with additions above and below in a double frame of arabesques.

Border : Animals pursuing each other among trees and rocks painted in gold ; small brightly coloured birds here and there.

Page 2a. Centre : Two Madonnas one above the other, added to at the side, a tree rising from the lower into the upper one. (Pl. 42.) Around them a frame of arabesques.

Border : Fighting, running, and resting animals painted in gold amongst rocks and trees. Small brightly coloured birds here and there.

Page 2b. Centre : Specimen of writing in Taliq signed Mīr 'Alī al-Kātib, on a background of arabesques.

Border : Whole and half-heart shaped medallions with two figures in each, of different tones of gold. (Pl. 25 ; detail in colour Pl. 12.) The medallions are placed among umbels and flowers, hunting animals and fishes lightly shaded in colour.

Page 3a. Centre : Original engraving by Sadeler after M. de Vos : The Massacre of the Innocents ; above, two small engravings. (The Four Evangelists and the Descent of the Holy Ghost.)

Border : A few drawings of animals in gold, among rocks, trees and little bushes. Small brightly coloured birds here and there.

Page 3b. Centre : Specimen of writing in large Taliq, signed Faqīr 'Alī in bluish-grey clouds among rich arabesques on a gold ground.

Border : Rocks, with bushes and birds, painted in gold ; amongst them, in light colours, a few scattered figures. (Pl. 21.)

Page 4a. Centre : Specimen of writing in Taliq on a gold ground, with sprays of flowers and bands of clouds.

Border : Landscape painted in gold with scattered figures, all of European inspiration, in different shades of gold and light colours.

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- Page 4b. Centre : Four miniature portraits ('Abdallāh Khān, Khizr Khān, Bakhtar Khān, and 'Abd-al-Wahhāb. Pls. 5-8 in colour).
- Border : Sprays of flowers and lancet shaped leaves painted in gold ; within three whole and two half medallions with coloured designs of animals. (Pl. 18. Detail in colour.)
- Page 5a. Centre : Talīq writing in two different sizes, above sprays of flowers in gold. Signed Mīr 'Alī.
- Border : Rocks and little bushes painted in gold, amongst them Christian motives in light tones and shading. (Cf. Pl. 40.)
- Page 5b. Centre : Portrait in the Persian style (Pl. 9 in colour) in a frame of Persian verses and arabesques.
- Border : Running animals painted in gold amongst rocks and small bushes ; many brightly coloured birds scattered about. (Pl. 11. Detail in colour.)
- Page 6a. Centre : Specimens of writing in several columns, in Talīq and Nastalīq, among sprays of flowers and bands of clouds on gold. Some signed Mīr 'Alī al-Kātīb and Sultān 'Alī.
- Border : Hilly country with bushes painted in gold, enlivened with birds, amongst them various single figures in gouache (sitting lady, standing Indian, Christian woman with walking child, prince and courtier, sitting falconer. Pl. 16. Detail in colour).
- Page 6b. Centre : Three miniatures stuck together (dancing ascetic and pilgrim with child ; v. Pl. 40. Fakir under a tree) ; near the lower one a landscape with a cave added later.
- Border : Arabesques and dragons painted in gold, and forming waves and pointed ovals, amongst them branches with larger and smaller flowers on them. Small brightly coloured birds here and there.
- Page 7a. Centre : Four compartments of Talīq writing on a gold ground, with brightly coloured twigs, enlivened with birds ; all four signed in the same writing but in different terms (Faqīr 'Alī, Mīr 'Alī, Mīr 'Alī al-Kātīb).
- Border : A rocky landscape with trees and bushes painted in gold, grazing sheep and goats amongst them, coloured drawings of figures. (Pl. 26.)
- Page 7b. Centre : Engraving by J. Sadeler after M. de Vos (1582) : The Holy Family journeying to Nazareth. Above it two small engravings side by side. (*Noli me tangere* and the Adoration of the Kings.)
- Border : Rock landscape with fighting animals painted in gold. Small, brightly coloured birds here and there.

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Page 8a. Centre : Engraving by Th. Galle after J. Stradanus : The Flaying of Marsyas. Above, two small engravings side by side. (The Resurrection and the Descent into Hell.)

Border : Larger flowers on thin stalks painted in gold ; amongst them in colour sword fishes, fabulous animals, and heads of animals ; small birds in stronger colours. (v. Pl. 42.)

Page 8b. Centre : On a gold ground with sprays of flowers specimens of writing in two sizes and two columns, signed 'Alī al-Kātib and Faqīr Mīr 'Alī ; to fill an empty space two small compartments with birds. (Pl. 19. Detail in colour.)

Border : Rocky landscape with trees drawn in gold ; on it scattered figures in colour. Shaikh in meditation and youth reading (Pl. 38), page with saddled horse (Pl. 14 in colour), man with washing jug, kneeling man with book.

Page 9a. Centre : Two specimens of writing in Taliq signed Faqīr 'Alī and Faqīr Mīr 'Alī and two small engravings (St. John the Evangelist and Ape on tree after Dürer). (Pl. 43.)

Border : Hills with bushes painted in gold, amongst them scattered figures, Christian in character, and Moghul prince with attendant visiting a fakir.

Page 9b. Centre : Scene from the Iskandar-Nāmah (Epic of Alexander). Miniature in the Persian style, restored in many places.

Border : Flowering twigs and heads of animals painted in gold.

Page 10a. Centre : Taliq writing over a flowery gold ground, signed Faqīr 'Alī al-Kātib.

Border : Among rocks and bushes painted in gold, lightly coloured scenes with figures. (Princess with female attendants, prince with courtier and attendant, prince drinking and lute player. Pl. 15 in colour.)

Page 10b. Centre : The Women at the Grave. Miniature with additions all around. (Pl. 41.)

Border : Fighting animals amongst rocks and trees, painted in gold. Small coloured birds here and there.

Page 11a. Centre : Shāh Ismā'il resting. Miniature in Persian style (Pl. 33), with later additions.

Border : Zigzag pattern with twigs on which are flowers and heads of animals in gold ; small coloured birds here and there.

Page 11b. Centre : Taliq writing on a gold ground with thick sprays of flowers, signed Faqīr 'Alī al-Kātib.

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- Border : Rocks and bushes in gold, amongst them lightly coloured drawings of figures, chiefly of European origin. (Pl. 29.)
- Page 12a. Centre : Sea battle. Miniature, added to above and below. (Pl. 31 and Pl. 3, detail in colour.)
- Border : Gold painting of sprays of flowers with small medallions in which are coloured birds.
- Page 12b. Centre : Specimen of Talīq writing signed Faqīr 'Alī al-Kātib.
- Border : Gold painting with lightly coloured hunting scene. (Pl. 23 and Pl. 17, detail in colour.)
- Page 13a. Centre : Four miniatures stuck together, three of them representing Indian penitents (Pls. 40, 41); the fourth a cow and calf in a landscape.
- Border : Wavy pattern of arabesques and flower sprays painted in gold; small coloured birds here and there.
- Page 13b. Centre : Specimen of writing in large Talīq, signed Faqīr 'Alī; around it Persian verses in Nastalīq.
- Border : Rocks and shrubs painted in gold; among them lightly coloured single figures and groups (writing Shaikh with two pupils, servant with cup, student in front of a folding desk, learned man with books and meditating youth, painter smoothing paper; Pl. 38, signed by Bālchand).
- Page 14a. Centre : The town gate. A miniature taking up nearly the whole page. (Pl. 1.)
- Border : Lanceolate leaves and palmettos in gold, among them a few coloured birds.
- Page 14b. Centre : Specimens of writing in Talīq, very much alike; one signed Mīr 'Alī, the other Sultān 'Alī al-Mashadī.
- Border : Rocks and bushes painted in gold, amongst them lightly coloured figures of learned men (mostly standing—one teaching, another with a boy, two more—doctors?—in conversation).
- Page 15a. Centre : The Emperor Humāyūn in the mountains. Miniature taking up nearly the whole page. (Pl. 32 and detail in colour Pl. 4.)
- Border : Small coloured birds on gold palm stems.
- Page 15b. Centre : A list written in Nastalīq with arabesques above and below.
- Border : Rocky landscape painted in gold, in it hunters in light colours in different attitudes. (Pl. 27 and Pl. 17 in colour.)
- Page 16a. Centre : Talīq writing on a gold ground signed 'Alī al-Kātib.
- Border : Rocks and bushes painted in gold, amongst them, in colours, a few figures (learned man and scholars standing and sitting; prince with attendants, drinking youth, and page).

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Page 16b. Centre : Murder scene in a palace. Miniature taking up nearly the whole page. (Pl. 2.)

Border : Wavy pattern of flowers and palmettos in gold on a blue ground.

Page 17a. Centre : A list written in Nastaliq, in four parts.

Border : Rocky landscape with trees painted in gold, in it various strongly coloured scattered figures from everyday life. (Learned men, walking, sitting, at meals, scholars preparing drink and drinking, prince with two courtiers.)

Page 17b. Centre : Magpies. Painting on linen. (Pl. 10 in colour.) Above and below slight additions.

Border : Flower sprays painted in gold, interspersed with cross-shaped medallions in each of which is a coloured bird.

Page 18a. Centre : Specimen of Taliq writing in grey clouds on a gold ground, with bands of clouds and sprays of flowers.

Border : Rocks and bushes painted in gold, among them lightly coloured scattered figures of writers and handworkers. (Pl. 20.)

Page 18b. Centre : Four miniature portraits, amongst them Emperor Jahāngīr, stuck together. (Pls. 36, 37; coloured Plate before the text.)

Border : Delicate flowering twigs, and jagged structures painted in gold, amongst them many small coloured birds.

Page 19a. Centre : Large Taliq writing in blue clouds on a gold ground.

Border : Hilly landscape with bushes painted in gold, in it scattered figures in gold, lightly coloured (learned man, standing; prince with attendant receiving flowers; attendant at a table with vases, dishes and bottles; men carrying food).

Page 19b. Centre : Shaikh Majd ad-dīn. Miniature in the Persian style, edged with decorative border, falsely signed Bihzād, joined in many places.

Border : Various scenes of animals painted in gold among rocks and bushes; coloured birds here and there.

Page 20a. Centre : Specimen of writing in Taliq on an ornamental gold ground, signed Faqīr Mīr 'Alī, above a border with four coloured birds.

Border : Rocks and bushes painted in gold, among them figures of musicians, and two battle scenes in colour. (Pl. 22 and in colour Pl. 18.)

Page 20b. Centre : Four miniature portraits on a green background (the subjects unknown, except Āṣaf Khān. Pl. 36).

Border : Plant motives in gold; coloured birds here and there.

Page 21a. Centre : Four miniature portraits (two of them of painters at work. Pl. 39).

Border : As p. 18b.

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- Page 21b. Centre : Specimens of writing in Talīq on a gold ground with sprays of flowers, signed Mīr ‘Alī al-Kātib.
- Border : Amongst rocks and bushes painted in gold, lightly coloured single figures and groups (prince on a throne with hunting falcons and attendants, one of whom is bringing a dead duck ; a man mixing drinks ; ice shop ; water carrier at draw-well ; water seller pouring out water for a boy. Pl. 19).
- Page 22a. Centre : Specimen of writing in Talīq on a gold ground with sprays of flowers, signed ‘Alī al-Kātib as-Sultānī.
- Border : Among rocks and shrubs painted in gold, lightly coloured single figures of learned men and students (some standing with books, some carrying on a discussion ; amongst others Prince Salīm before the Shaikh Salīm Chishtī. Pl. 14 in colours).
- Page 22b. Centre : Four miniature portraits (Sūraj Singh, Bahādur Khān, Mahābat Khān, Rānā Karan) on a green background (Pl. 35).
- Border : Big wavy leaves with pointed ovals painted in gold ; among them small birds.
- Page 23a. Centre : Four miniature portraits (Rāo Bhāra, Khān Khānān, Jām) with different coloured backgrounds. (Pls. 36, 37.)
- Border : Flower pattern in gold, on it coloured birds, some in pairs.
- Page 23b. Centre : Talīq writing signed Faqīr Mīr ‘Alī on gold ground with tendrils.
- Border : Amongst rocks and bushes in gold three groups of figures, lightly coloured. (Master and pupil, dervish and mollah, Moghul prince and Rajput.)
- Page 24a. Centre : Nastalīq writing in two columns, on clouds of two colours, both signed Sultān ‘Alī al-Mashhadī.
- Border : Rocky landscape and trees in gold, in it scattered figures and groups in various shades of gold and colours. (Pl. 24 ; detail in colour Pl. 13.)
- Page 24b. Centre : An Elephant being trained. Miniature painting with additions above and below. (Pl. 34.)
- Border : Big, jagged medallions with animal scenes and small pairs of coloured birds amongst sprays of gold flowers.
- Page 25a. Centre : Four miniature portraits with landscape background. (Emperor Akbar, Ihtimām Khān and Kēsavadās, the latter in Pl. 39.)
- Border : As p. 22b.
- Page 25b. Centre : Specimen of writing in large Talīq, signed Faqīr ‘Alī.
- Border : Rocks and bushes in gold, amongst them in colour single figures (learned man and scholars, dervish, man preparing drink) and a group, with the signature of Gōvardhan. (Pl. 38.)



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In all the pages with writing on them the lines are differently arranged, often diagonally, on white or occasionally coloured grounds, always on scattered clouds with jagged edges, and they stand out with effect from the coloured and decorated gold background. In the same way figures and animals in the border paintings move on backgrounds always alike in the main, though in details treated very differently—landscapes of rocks, trees, and bushes with birds, drawn in gold.

For the passages in the text where the different pages, or details from them, are discussed, we refer the reader to the index.

The value of such an interesting album as this is very problematical so long as its genesis and history remain in obscurity. Being, however, simply a collection put together arbitrarily it does not contain sufficient data to give us a clear idea. For the epigraphs and dates on individual pages, here, as in most Indian albums of miniatures, allow conclusions to be drawn as to these alone, and not as to others. A note in the catalogue of the Prussian State Library states that the book comes from the collection of the well-known Egyptologist Heinrich Brugsch Pasha. He went with the embassy of Freiherr von Minutoli to Persia in 1860–1 and brought back from there many manuscripts. But just those in which we are interested are not mentioned. Still, a remark on Persian painting arising from his stay in Ispahan can only refer to our album of miniatures.<sup>1</sup> Brugsch Pasha was certainly mistaken in thinking it Persian; but knowledge of Oriental book paintings was then in its infancy.

A much nearer approach to a true judgment was made by Albrecht Weber, the only writer who has hitherto mentioned this album. In his work on the *Krishnajanmāshtamī* (Krishna's birthday), Berlin, 1868, he writes, p. 349:—

“Of much greater importance, however, is the second of these collections (State Library, Berlin, Acc. 9278, 9360). The latter, with its gold painted border common to every page, but decorated on every page with different figures, proves itself an integral work of art. The bigger pictures in the centre of this frame are a number of old European copper-plate engravings, or at least copies of them. Their subjects are for the most part from the life of Christ. There is a free copy of Dürer's Madonna, and among the figures painted in gold in the frame is also found the Madonna and Child, or the Child alone, and many other

<sup>1</sup> “The most flourishing period of Persian painting is really past, for modern borders are far surpassed by the masters of the 15th and 16th centuries. The time of Shah Abbas's reign was the highest point of this art. The works of this period are of extraordinary beauty and have a special interest for Europe in that the influence of European art, through the medium of merchants, priests and travelling artists, is unmistakably shown in numerous, often masterly copies of Italian, French, Dutch and German pictures. We have brought home from Persia miniature copies of well-known works by Raphael and Albert Dürer which are amongst the most beautiful ever executed by the brush of a Persian painter.” Persian miniatures of this kind are almost unknown, but are most often found in Indian albums, and in this context the reference can only be to those now under consideration. (*Reise der kgl. Preussischen Gesandtschaft nach Persien*, p. 92, Leipzig, 1862.)

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characters from Bible history. Beside them are numerous other representations which have no relation to them, some European, but most decidedly Indian in character and origin. Fortunately the date of this remarkable work has been preserved in a completely authentic manner. On the last page the Indian artist to whom the whole production clearly belonged has represented himself offering a paper scroll to the eminent patron for whom he completed his work (p. 25a, pl. 39); and on this scroll are these words in Devanāgarī: ‘Long live his Highness Jelāleddīn Akbar Pādishāh. Samvat 1646 (A.D. 1590) on the 9th of the light half of Pausa, written by Keçavadāsa the painter.’ This beautiful work was made at the order of the Emperor Akbar by a native artist Keçavadāsa.”

Although the above description gave an approximate idea of the appearance of the Album it did not excite anyone else to examine it more closely, and Albrecht Weber himself began the error of trusting to one single inscription for deciding the authorship of the whole. He overlooked the fact that this miniature is stuck in and does not belong to the main body of the Album. But in the border decorations which are all of a piece many other minute signatures in Persian wording are to be found.

p. 13b (cf. pl. 38): عمل بالجند مصور — جهانگیر بادشاه عادل

Work of the painter Bālchand, Jahāngīr, the just Emperor.

p. 16a: بکتابخانه بادشاه بادشاهان جهانگیر نورالدین محمد بادشاه تمام شد

Completed in the Library of the Emperor Jahāngīr Nūr-ad-din Muhammad, the king of kings.

p. 25b (cf. pl. 38):

عمل کترین خانه زادان کوردھن جهانگیر شاہی ولد جھوانی داس خاتم شد سنہ ۱۰۱۸

Work of the meanest of those born in the house, Gōvardhan, the servant of Jahāngīr, the son of Bhavānī-Dās, finished in the year 1018 H. (A.D. 1609-10).

With greater reservation some of the dates and inscriptions in the middle of the page can be used, for the pictures that belong to them are very different in origin and age, and for our purpose we must separate not only the numerous European engravings but those which are purely Persian, or those earlier ones which can be clearly differentiated by their style from the later miniatures of the Moghul school.

There then remain the following texts:—

p. 4b (cf. pl. 8):

سنہ ۱۰۲۳ شبیہ بخت خان کلاوت کہ دامار عادل خان می شود در اجیر آمده ملازمت . . .

Portrait of Bakhtar Khān Kalāvānt, who is the son-in-law of ‘Ādil Khān; arrived in Ajmīr he made his obeisance (to the emperor) in the year 1023 H. (A.D. 1614-15).

p. 14a (cf. pl. 1):

در کتابخانه حضرت ظل اللہی نورالدین محمد جهانگیر بادشاه غازی صورت تمام یافت سنہ حد

This picture was completed in the library of His Majesty, the shadow of God, Nūr-

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ad-dīn Muhammad Jahāngīr, the victorious Emperor, in the year 12 (viz. جلوس of the reign ; from which we get the date A.D. 1617-18).

p. 22b (cf. pl. 35) :

عمل بسنداس صورت راجه سورج سنل طغای خرم بساله ۴ مانند است سنة ۱۰۱۷

The work of Bishndās. Portrait of Rājā Sūraj Singh, the uncle of Khurram, who made a stay (at court) in the year 1017 H. (A.D. 1608).<sup>1</sup>

شبيه بهادر خان اوزبك حاکم قندهار عمل بشنداس

Portrait of the Governor of Kandahār Bahādur Khān the Usbek, the work of Bishndās.

شبيه خان خانان . . . رقم منوهر سنة ۱۳ جلوس : p. 23a (cf. pl. 36)

Portrait of the Khān-Khānān . . . painted by Manōhar in the 13th year of the reign (of Jahāngīr ; that is A.D. 1618).

شبيه راو بهاره زميندار ولايت کچ رقم کووردهن سنة ۱۳ . . . مطابق سنة ۱۰۲۷ در بلدة

احمدآباد بملازمت رسيد حضرة نورالدين جهانگیر بن اکبر بادشاه غازی بهاره مذکور

از زمينداران معتبر صوبه کجراتست و بدیدن هج یل از حکام این دیار نیامده بوده

Portrait of Rāo Bhāra, Prince of the land of Kachh (Cutch). Painted by Gōvardhan. In the 13th year (of the reign), that is the year 1027 H. (A.D. 1617). He came to the town of Ahmadābād to pay his respects to his Majesty Nūr-ad-dīn Jahāngīr, the son of the Emperor Akbar. The aforesaid Bhāra is the most important of the princes of the Provinces of Gujarāt, and had never yet appeared before any of the rulers of this land.

شبيه جام رقم نادر الزمان

Portrait of the Jām. Drawn by Nādir-az-Zamān.

Some of the above inscriptions, which go back to the period 1608-18, say definitely that our album belonged to the Library of Jahāngīr, others by their manner of dating (?) so obviously refer to his reign, that the pages in question could only have been painted at his commission.

Nūr-ad-dīn Muhammad Jahāngīr, the fourth great Moghul of India, was born to Akbar the Great on 30th August, 1569. He was the third son of a sister of the Rājā Bhagavān-Dās of Amber (Jaipur). On the death of his father on 24th October, 1605, he came to the throne, which he occupied until his own death in October, 1627. His reign was one of the happiest periods in Indian history. The great work of building up the kingdom, which his father had begun in a long life full of hard battles, was now completed. His policy, without much independence, was peaceful, and carried on in only a very modest degree the conquests of Akbar. He continued the

<sup>1</sup> Toghāī means in Chagatai Turkish "mother's elder brother". Sūraj Singh's sister Jōdh Bāi was the mother of Prince Khurram, who afterwards was the heir-apparent, and Emperor Shāh Jahān. 1608 was the fourth year of the reign of Jahāngīr.

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subjection of the Dekkan with small result, Mēvar surrendered, in Gujarāt Kachh (Cutch) and the rest of the Kathiavar peninsula came under his authority, in the Himalayas Kāngrā was added to his kingdom, while Kandahār on the other hand was lost to the Persians in 1622. Much more important was the internal development. It marks the completion of what Akbar had striven for, the rule of a military state over a mixture of races. By holding the balance evenly between the various races, and by playing off one party against the other, it was possible for the ruler to govern with unlimited power. Hindu princes and Muhammadan noblemen had exactly the same rights, universal toleration was a ruling principle in the kingdom. Hindu ascetics as well as Jesuit missionaries were received at court with the same honour as the Muhammadan Mollahs. Trade was peacefully carried on. European travellers, merchants, and artists went about the country, and met with a friendly reception from the emperor.

But of all this little was Jahāngīr's own work. He was addicted to drink, and, although clever and highly cultivated, was much too weak-willed to prevent the reins of government from slipping entirely into the hands of his consort Nūr-Jahān, and her brother Āsaf Khān, his grand vizier. His own tastes were entirely for hunting and collecting. There has hardly been a more passionate hunter than he, and his mania for collecting included all kinds of European curiosities, watches, jewels, but especially pictures. Jahāngīr had a picture gallery of his own and enriched it with the work of many European artists, which the Portuguese and the English ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, brought to him as presents. In his memoirs (*Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri*, ii, 20) he blows his own trumpet thus : " I am very fond of pictures, and am such a good critic of them that I can always give the name of the artist, whether living or dead. If similar pictures were painted by different artists I can always say who was the painter of each. Even if a picture were painted by different masters, I could give the names of those who painted the different parts of the picture. In fact, I could infallibly say by whom the brows and by whom the eyelashes were drawn, and whether anyone had worked over the picture after the first artist had finished it."

The artists described as painters in this album are, with the exception of Kēsavadās, all known as members of Jahāngīr's studio. The emperor himself mentions Nādir-az-Zamān in his memoirs, " To-day Abu'l-Ḥasan, a painter who bears the title of Nādir-az-Zamān, drew a picture of my court and presented it to me. He executed it as the frontispiece of my Jahāngīr-Nāmah (history of Jahāngīr). It was so excellent that I loaded him with my favours. If the famous masters Abu'l-Hai and Bihzād were still living, they would fully appreciate the exquisite taste of his work. His father Āqā Rizā always lived with me, while I was only a prince, and his son was born in my house. But the son is much cleverer than his father. I gave him a good education, and took such pains with him that he became one of the most distinguished men of his time. The portraits that he painted were very beautiful." Of Bishndās

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(Vishnudāsa) there is known at the present time a picture of Jahāngīr's ambassador Khān 'Ālam at the court of Shāh 'Abbās the Great of Persia, 1618 (at Boston), and another in the Victoria and Albert Museum dated 1615, portraying Rānā Amar Singh of Udaipur. One of our pictures (p. 22b) mentions him in the year 1608. He has collaborated on another page in the Victoria and Albert Museum, also of the time of Akbar. Under Jahāngīr's successor, Shāh Jahān, we hear no more of him. He must, consequently, have worked in the latest years of Akbar's reign and the first half of Jahāngīr's. Bālchand's work must also fall in the same period, if we can judge from a Madonna in the Berlin Museum of Ethnology, I, C 24338, p. 12b. Manōhar and Gōvardhan, on the other hand, belong to a later period and were still working under Shāh Jahān. Our miniatures which come from their hands must be reckoned among their earliest productions (1618).

Though the period of the above-mentioned artists, and their works which we have before us, all belong roughly to the middle of Jahāngīr's reign, the two pictures (pls. 39 and 42) from the hand of Kēsavadās fall entirely outside this period. Kēsavadās was a member of Akbar's school of painting, and collaborated in a series of magnificent picture-books of this time, for instance the Bābur-Nāmāh in the British Museum, and the Akbar-Nāmāh at South Kensington. Four sheets of the Razm Nāmāh in the library of the Mahārājā of Jaipur are his work. His pages in our album belong to the period about 1600. The one sheet is dated 1590, the other, for reasons which will be stated later, cannot be later than 1606. They were probably, like so many other miniatures, taken from an older collection, and incorporated in this volume.

The historical portraits help us to come to a more definite conclusion about the date of our album. They also all date from the time of the emperor Jahāngīr ; exceptions to this are several portraits in border paintings, and a few older pages pasted in. The latter naturally fall outside the scope of the present investigation ; the former are copies of older pictures, and must be valued accordingly. We shall discuss in greater detail in the next chapter the persons portrayed. Here we will only anticipate the conclusion which can be drawn from the historical events connected with these portraits, as well as from the signatures, namely that the compilation of our album happened in the years 1608-18. This was the period in which Jahāngīr made his journey from Agra through Ājmīr to Mandū in the Dekkan, so as to be able to supervise in person the war on the south front, and in which he made his excursion to the gulf of Cambay. In the later years of this period falls the visit of the English ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, to the Emperor's court. He landed on 18th September, 1615, in Suwali, near Surāt, and came to Ājmīr on 23rd December. On 10th January, 1616, he was received by Jahāngīr at a Durbar, and after that accompanied the emperor as British ambassador to Mandū and through Gujarāt, until he left Ahmadābād in September, 1618, to begin the homeward journey about 17th February, 1619, from Surāt. Roe has left a valuable picture of the Moghul's court. He

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mentions the emperor's love of pictures, and how he himself sent some over from Europe to Jahāngīr as presents.<sup>1</sup> One might be inclined to connect the prints in our album and the miniatures which are copies of them with these visits. But apart from technical reasons, which will be considered in another place, the circumstance which seems to disprove it is that it is concerned exclusively with engravings representing subjects which would hardly appeal to an English connoisseur. We shall, therefore, not go far wrong if we assume that the prints which served as originals for the miniatures of a Christian character were introduced by the Jesuits of Goa, with whom Akbar as well as Jahāngīr had relations. We deal more fully with these later on.

In deciding the date of our album, we must also take into account the date 1609 which stands on one of the border pictures. At that time someone obviously began to put the pages together and added Christian subjects to the existing collection. As the work went on the various portraits and the copies and originals in the older Indian style, were added at the commission of the emperor. The pages with the latest date belong to the year 1618, and as there is no compelling evidence that any of the others were added later,<sup>2</sup> it is quite possible that this year marks the exact date of the completion of the whole.

The aim with which this collection was made remains unknown, and there is therefore little object in conjectures as to its later fate. Regarding its last possessor one cannot but ask, how such a magnificent album came to Isfahān. Was it found in one of the libraries of the old Safavid palace? If so, it might have been sent as a present from the Great Moghul to the Shah of Persia. Such albums were doubtless much in favour as royal gifts. Possibly Mīrzā Barkuhdār-Khān 'Ālam took it to Persia; it is known that he went to Shāh 'Abbās as Jahāngīr's ambassador in 1618, the very year in which it was presumably finished.

Without losing ourselves in further speculations we will here be content with noting its importance as the most beautiful Indian miniature work in German possession, as a document illustrating the Jesuit period at the Moghul Court, and the history of the great Emperor Jahāngīr. In the following chapters we will examine it more closely.

<sup>1</sup> For his more detailed account see below—at the end.

<sup>2</sup> The two pictures mentioned below in connection with the events of the year 1620 might very well be of even earlier date: for Abd-al-Wahhāb, as the son of Akbar's doctor, had certainly been known to the Emperor for a long time, and Khizr Khān was occasionally mentioned by Jahāngīr himself even earlier, generally in connection with the payment of his pension.



## The Historical Background and the Portraits

**T**HE course of the history of Hindustan is typical of all the border states of the Steppe Regions of Central Asia. It was again and again overrun by the nomad and hunting tribes of Central Asia. It assimilated these and disintegrated their great kingdoms, until it again fell a prey to the next wave of invaders. The kingdom of the Great Moghuls was the last in this series. Established by Bābur in 1526, it was consolidated under Akbar the Great (1556–1605) and Jahāngīr (1605–28), to reach the height of its glory under Shāh Jahān (1628–59) and Aurangzīb (1659–1707). It then began to decline rapidly into a more or less disintegrating feudal state. At last the Afghans of Ahmad Durrānī destroyed the kingdom, although the nominal emperor retained a kind of sham court until 1860.

Bābur, the little ruler of Ferghānah, was one of the many princes who, as successors of the great conqueror Tamerlane, ruled over Eastern Iran and Turkestan under the weak suzerainty of Samarcand. They were in constant warfare with each other, and only held together by family tradition. It was a nomadic government; the population of peasants and town dwellers was entirely cut off from government, which was in the hands of a relatively small group of knights. Thus their politics were very uncertain, and the ruler was changed every few years. Bābur himself controlled the central government on two occasions for a short time. Naturally the tribes settled in the less fertile regions near the Aral Sea tried to make use of this disruption, and appropriate the dominion for themselves little by little. At last the chief of the Uzbeks, Shaibānī, succeeded in taking Bokhāra (1499) and Samarcand (1506). Bābur, the most powerful of the northern Timurid Mīrzās, was thus driven from power and threw himself with his followers on Balkh, the kingdom of one of his kinsmen. But hard pressed here also by the Uzbeks he withdrew to Kābul. Shaibānī Khān now attacked Herat, where a short time before the last great Sultān, Husain Mīrzā Baiqarā, had died. Bābur a short time before had had the support of his sons in the defence of Balkh, but he now quarrelled with them. Herat fell in 1507, and now Bābur's province was all that remained of Tamerlane's great empire. He now thought of so increasing his power through the conquest of India as to be in a position to recover the kingdom of his fathers. But the means soon became an end in itself, and the task took all his strength. Through the conquest of the Punjab he came into conflict with Sultān Ibrāhīm Lōdī of Delhi, whom he defeated in 1526 at Pānīpat. But as the basis of Lōdī's power lay further east, in lower Hindustan and Bengal, he saw himself



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obliged to carry his conquests further, and consequently marched towards Bengal, and defeated the Afghans at Lakhnau, after which peace was made.

When Bābur died in the following year, 1530, his son Humāyūn (1530–56) succeeded him on the throne. Though cultured and intelligent, he lacked the energy of his father. Addicted to opium, he was, during decisive events, lost in indifference and inertia. His noble and romantic chivalry resulted in weakness and political trifling. Thus he was equal neither to the internal nor external difficulties which beset him. His brothers, especially Kāmran Mīrzā, intrigued against him, in order to make for themselves independent kingdoms. The nobles, unaccustomed to the hot climate, wished themselves back in the cooler mountains of Afghanistan. Since the taking of Delhi they had been obliged to fight on two fronts, in the east at Bihār and Bengal, and in the south along the great trade route through Mālwa, Mēvar, Gujarāt and the Dekkan. Humāyūn made war on both fronts; but instead of making any decisive stroke, instead of seriously conquering any territory, he wasted his strength, scarcely enough for an occupation, in hasty victories which he did not follow up. He thus gave his enemies time to collect, and attack him in concert. In 1533 the Emperor took Mālwa and part of Gujarāt, but in 1535 he was obliged to withdraw. In the interval an Afghan general, Shēr Khān, had won over to himself the most important places in Bihār, was preparing for the conquest of Bengal, and raised his standard against the Moghuls. Humāyūn saw himself obliged to interfere in person, undertook a siege, and achieved in 1538 the surrender of the capital Gaur. But on his return to Agra, Shēr Khān succeeded in trapping him in an ambush at Chapar Ghat and inflicting a severe defeat. The attempt which he made in the following year to make good his losses, ended in a fresh failure, and panic now became universal. The provinces revolted, Kāmran Mīrzā made himself independent, and the Emperor saved himself with great difficulty by an adventurous flight into Persia. In 1543 Shāh Tahmāsp received him at his court there. Humāyūn was forced to profess himself of the faith of the twelve Shi'ite Imāms, and to hold out hopes of the surrender of Qandahār to the Persians, in order to raise the army by whose help he entered into the kingdom of his ancestors. In 1545 he was again in Kābul, where his brothers Askarī and Hindāl joined him. Yet for the next ten years his power was limited to Afghanistan, and he only saw Delhi again in 1555, where he died shortly afterwards by an accident.

It looked very much as if all the labour was again to be lost. True, Delhi had been taken, but there could be no question as yet of a real sovereignty over Hindustan. In 1558, after severe fighting, only the kingdom of Bābur was again established. Two years later Bairām Khān, who had been regent till then, was overthrown, and in 1562 at last the young emperor Akbar himself took over the government. He had learnt from the failures of his father. He was not satisfied with extending his kingdom to the limits which it had reached at the time of its highest expansion, by conquering

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one after another Rajputana (1556-68) and Sind (1591), Kashmīr (1587) and Gujarāt (1572-91), Bengal (1574-83), Khāndēsh (1593-9), and Berār (1596). Much more important were his internal reforms which marked the transition from a feudal to a military government. The weakness of the old Moghul empire had lain in the fact that the whole of the emperor's power rested on the goodwill and fidelity of a nobility, small in numbers, and moreover financially independent. There was no real contact with the people themselves. But now the financial administration of their fiefs was taken from the nobles, and put into the hands of imperial revenue officers. The power of the emperor was strengthened by the formation of a standing army, the Ahidīs, and a considerable increase of the crown lands. But most important was the putting of the Indian peoples into the same position as the conquerors; the Rājputs especially, excellent soldiers, duller but tougher and more reliable than the Moghuls, formed a counterpoise to the Muhammadan Amīrs. Their influence gave the following period its peculiar character. If they do not appear very important in political history, their influence is all the greater in the progress of Moghul civilization. It was not so much the inclination of Akbar to Hinduism as the politically unyielding character of the Rājputs, which made out of the pure Turko-Persian culture of the old Moghul empire of Bābur and Humāyūn a national Indian empire. Their adherence was bought by great concessions and privileges. By frequenting the imperial court they introduced their own customs : dress, faith, literature and painting, the whole imperial harem, were all more or less formed by them. Akbar attached the Rājās of Ambēr (Jaipur), Bīkānēr, Jōdhpur, Jaisalmēr, and Bundi closely to himself, and from most of them took daughters as wives for his harem. Under Jahāngīr, it is true, Ambēr and Bīkānēr lost much of their influence, but Ōrchā in Bundēlkhanda and Nūrpur in the Kāngra district took their places. They had supported the new emperor in his rebellion against his father, and now enjoyed his highest favour. The influence of the Rājputs waned only in the reign of Shāh Jahān as a result of the ascendancy of the Muhammadans of the newly conquered Dekkan. But Kāngrā-Nūrpur, Ambēr and Jōdhpur still retained their old influence, which only came to an end under the orthodox Aurangzīb. The Rājputs had played out their part in the Moghul empire. It is not necessary to consider Jahāngīr's reign further here, because it has been dealt with in the previous chapter.

The pictures which our album contains, represent various people who have played an important part in the historical events briefly sketched above. They will also give us the opportunity to throw yet more light on these events in many details. Certainly those portraits alone have documentary value, which belong to the time of the formation of the collection, that is the reign of Jahāngīr, and thus can reasonably be expected to be really like the people they represent. The older pieces which are found in addition to these, are easily identified, partly by the inscriptions, and partly

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by their resemblance to other miniatures. It is very probable that this would be possible with a number of other pictures if sufficient material had survived with which to make a comparison. The prince portrayed in the medallion, p. 2b on the left, above (pl. 24), must be Bābur, as also must be the figure kneeling before a hermit on p. 23b below. They are certainly portraits of him in the later years of his life. The border picture on p. 24a on the right below (pl. 13) represents Humāyūn, sitting in a kind of tree-pulpit with a prince surrounded by musicians and servants preparing a meal. On p. 15a (pl. 32) he is portrayed in another position on a page which may be contemporary with his lifetime—almost all the portraits of this emperor come from the time of Akbar—and bearing the inscription “Humāyūn bādshāh—Hindāl Mīrzā”. Humāyūn’s protector, Shāh Tahmāsp of Persia, is not represented among the miniatures; on the other hand, the unknown Persian prince on p. 11a (pl. 33) is probably Shāh Ismā‘īl. This assumption is supported not only by the shape of his turban, which will be dealt with later, and the general style of the picture, but also by a comparison with other portraits.<sup>1</sup> Akbar appears twice, in the prime of life on p. 12b on the left above, resting during a hunt (pl. 23), and as an old man on p. 25a.

We can in all probability identify even Jahāngīr as Prince Salīm before his teacher Shaikh Salīm Chishtī on p. 22a (pl. 14) and also as the emperor standing—as is always the case in single portraits here—with one hand lifted in a rhetorical gesture, and the other holding two pearls and a wreath of flowers, p. 18b (plate facing the text). The picture is not explained by any writing, but the external appearance of the emperor is so familiar to us from many authentic miniatures,<sup>2</sup> that there can be no doubt as to the originality of the portrait. The only question open to dispute is whether it was copied directly from the life, or, what is more probable, from a portrait. We shall deal rather more fully with the portraits of other historical personages collected here, as they have a special importance for us. We will now consider them in alphabetical order :—

1. ‘Abd-allāh Khān (p. 4b, with inscription; pl. 6). There were three distinct people of this name about this time: Sarfarāz Khān, son of Khān A‘zam, Sayyid ‘Abdallāh Bārha Saif Khān, and ‘Abdallāh Khān Fīrōz Jang. Probably it is the last of these who is meant here. Khwājah ‘Abdallāh Khān Naqshbandī was a successor of the famous Khwājah Nāsir-ad-dīn Ahrār, and first entered the service of Sultān Salīm (Jahāngīr) in the body-guard of the Ahidīs, and was given Kālpī as a fief by Akbar. In 1606 he was raised to the rank of commander over 2,500 men, and succeeded in taking prisoner the rebellious Rājā Rām Chand Bundēla of Ōrchā. In 1607 he was appointed governor of Mālwa, and took part with great success in the campaign against Rānā Amar Singh of Mēvar. In 1609 as successor of Mahābat Khān he took over the supreme command, whereupon Jahāngīr gave him the title

<sup>1</sup> Ph. W. Schubert, *Die Persisch-Islamische Miniatur Malerei*, ii, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> See Kuhnelt, *Miniaturmalerei im Islam. Orient*, pp. 109, 110, 116, 119.

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of “Fīrōz Jang”. In 1611 he became governor of Gujarāt with the command to make war on Malik Ambar of Ahmadnagar in the mountainous district of the Western Ghats. But he suffered a severe defeat in the following year in the passes of Nāsik and fell into disgrace. The crown prince Khurram pleaded for him, and in 1616 he was taken back into favour by the emperor. When Khurram rebelled against his father in 1622, ‘Abdallāh Khān went over to him, and was sent by him to Gujarāt again. Beaten by Sāfī Khān, he joined the prince who had just received a severe defeat at Ellichpur, and went with him to Orissa.” But he was obliged to give up the siege of Burhānpur and fled into the Dekkan. When Shāh Jahān succeeded to the throne, he was again ordered against Rājā Jujhar Singh of Ōrchā, and in 1633 appointed governor of Bihār. Five years later he succeeded in putting down the rebellion of Rājā Partāb of Ujjain. In 1644 he succeeded Shujā‘at-Khān as governor of Allāhābād, but died in the same year.<sup>1</sup>

2. ‘Abd-ar-Rahīm Khān bin Bairām Khān, Khān-Khānān (p. 23a, pl. 36, signature see above). In the miniature the portrayed person is indicated merely by the title, Khān-Khānān. From the date 1618, as also from the age of the figure, it is evident that it represents Mīrzā ‘Abd ar-Rahīm Khān. He was born in 1556 to Bairām Khān, the guardian of emperor Akbar. When the young emperor had at last freed himself from tutelage, Bairām Khān was banished and murdered on the road to Mecca. The mother and son, however, were rescued by faithful servants. Akbar took the child in, and brought him up. ‘Abd-ar-Rahīm Khān then married a daughter of Mīrzā ‘Azīz Kōkah; in 1574 he took part in Akbar’s forced march on Patan, by which the emperor put down the rebellion in Gujarāt. Three years later he became governor of the province and in two severe battles defeated the escaping Sultān Muzaffar, who had attempted to reconquer his kingdom. Recalled to the court, he became general with the rank of commander of 5,000 men, and received the title of Khān-Khānān. He then lived for a long time in retirement, and devoted himself to translating the memoirs of the Emperor Bābur. Nevertheless he took over in 1591 the governorship of Mūltān, and began the conquest of Sind. He was then appointed general-in-chief of Prince Murād in the war in the Dekkan, and won in 1597 the great battle of Ashti over Suhail Khān of Bījāpur; in 1599 he took Ahmadnagar. In 1608 Jahāngīr appointed him again to the command of the Dekkan; but he could do nothing owing to the opposition and intrigues of his officers, and was recalled. In 1616 it was necessary once again to hand over to him the government of the provinces of the Dekkan. When Shāh Jahān rebelled against his father, he began an obscure double game, chiefly from fear of the rising star, Mahābat Khān (q.v.), the imperial commander-in-chief against the crown prince. He lost his position, yet in 1626 he was restored to his offices and dignities, and after the unsuccessful rising of Mahābat Khān

<sup>1</sup> There is another portrait of him in the Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, I, C 24345, p. 7a.

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he was actually trusted with the pursuit of the latter by the empress ; but he suddenly fell ill and died in the same year.

3. 'Abd-al-Wahhāb (p. 4b, with inscription, pl. 5). He was the son of Akbar's doctor, Hakīm 'Alī, but although he was in the state service he played no active role. Yet he became notorious in 1620 through a gross attempt at extortion. When the inquiry into the circumstances made by the grand visier Āsaf Khān established his guilt, he lost his office, but he seems in later times to have been received into favour again.

4. Āsaf Khān (p. 20b, pl. 36, with inscription). Under Jahāngīr there lived two distinct Āsaf Khāns, each of whom played an important part in the history of their time.

(a) Āsaf Khān Ja'far Bēg. He was of Persian origin, and went to India in 1577, but he was not really fortunate. After an adventurous time in the rebellion in Bengal he succeeded in obtaining a better position in the civil service ; he soon became commander over 2,000 men and army paymaster (Bakhshī). Having distinguished himself in the campaign against Rānā Partāb of Mēvar, in 1587 he obtained the governorship of Swāt in Afghānistān, where in 1592 he defeated the supporters of the Raushānī sect. In 1597 he became governor of Kashmīr, and in 1600 chief Dīvān (minister of finance). In 1604 he became governor of Bihār. In the following year the emperor Jahāngīr made him the tutor of prince Parvīz, and sent him with the latter against Rānā Amar Singh. In 1606 the emperor promoted him to the rank of commander of 5,000 men and to the grand visiership. Later with Sultān Parvīz he took over the supreme command in the Dekkan, but owing to the insubordination of his officers he could do no better than his predecessor, 'Abd-ar-Rahīm Khān. He died at Burhānpur in the year 1612. He is also well known as a poet, the author of the " Nūr-Nāmah ", an imitation of Nizāmī's *Khusrau-u-Shīrīn*.<sup>1</sup>

(b) Mīrzā Abu'l Hasan Āsaf Khān, the brother of Jahāngīr's wife, Nūrbahān, and father of the Empress Mumtaz-Mahal, the wife of Shāh Jahān, to whom the wonderful tomb of the Tāj-Mahal is dedicated. The son of Ghiyās-Bēg J'timād-ad-daulah, he received from Jahāngīr, in 1611, the title of J'tiqād Khān, and in 1614 that of Āsaf Khān, and the command over 5,000 men. He was one of the Emperor's most trusted courtiers, yet he never became prominent in politics. Shāh Jahān raised him to the splendid rank of commander of 9,000, with the title of Yamīn-ad-daulah. He died in 1641.<sup>2</sup> It is the latter who is depicted here, as a comparison with other known portraits of him proves.

5. Bahādur Khān Uzbek (p. 22b, signature see above, pl. 35), with his real name of Abu'l-Nabī, was a nobleman of Turkestan, and had succeeded to the governorship

<sup>1</sup> For other portraits of him see Marteau-Véver, *Miniatures Persanes*, pls. 159, 165; Binyon and Arnold, *Court Painters*, pl. 29.

<sup>2</sup> For other portraits of him v. Brit. Mus. Add. 18,801; Binyon and Arnold, pl. 20; Martin, *Miniature Painting*, ii, pls. 184, 191. Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, I, C 24339, p. 21a; I, C 24345, p. 15a; I, C 24349, p. 29a; and esp. I, C 24347, p. 5a.

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of Mashhad under 'Abd-al-Mumin Khān. After the death of the latter he went to India, and was employed by Akbar in the household administration. Jahāngīr gave him at his coronation a present of 40,000 rupees, so that he was able to bring a contingent to the pursuit of Prince Khusrau by Shaikh Farīd Murtazā Khān. In 1609 he became Faujdār of Mūltān. In 1612 the Emperor appointed him Governor of Qandahār, and gave him the title of Bahādur Khān and the command of 3,000 men. In 1620 he became commander over 5,000 men, but only two years later he was obliged to apply for his pension on account of a disease of the eyes, and retired to his fief in the province of Āgrā. Later on he appeared once more before Shāh Jahān on his journey from Ājmīr to Āgrā. Nothing is known of his life after that event.

6. Bakhtar Khān Kalāvānt (p. 4b, signature see above, pl. 8) was a near relation of Ibrāhīm 'Adilshāh II of Bījāpur (1597-1626) and his teacher in singing and poetry. In 1614 the favourite arrived at Jahāngīr's court dressed as a dervish, probably on some secret political mission. In 1618 he came once more with Sayyid Kabīr, to bring presents to the Emperor in his master's name.

7. Bharah, Rāō of Kachh (Cutch) (p. 23a, signature see above, pl. 36), visited Jahāngīr in 1618 at Ahmadābād. The Rāō, who was ninety years old, had till then never paid homage to the Moghuls, and Jahāngīr was therefore delighted that the most important of the princes of Gujarāt had now submitted to him of his own free will, and rewarded him richly.

8. Ihtimām Khān (p. 25a, with signature). The original, described in the note as master of the horse (Akhtarbegī), cannot be the man of that name mentioned in the great biographical handbook of the Ma'āsir-al-Umarā, as the latter lived only in the reign of the following two emperors. But surely he is identical with Kōlvāl Khān or Ihtimām Khān Kōlvāl, who appears once or twice in Jahāngīr's memoirs. In 1607 he was sent to 'Abdallāh Khān (see No. 1) at Mālwa, about bringing to court Mīrzā Badī'-az-Zamān, whom the latter had captured. Mīrzā Badī'-az-Zamān was one of those distant relations of the imperial house, who, since the time of Akbar's majority, had been trying by constantly renewed rebellions to recover their lost influence at court. He had won over Rānā Amar Singh of Udaipur as his ally. In 1608 Ihtimām Khān was given the supreme command of the river battle fleet in Bengal, and was raised to the command of 1,000 men. In 1612 he took part in the defeat of Osmān, the Afghan, in Eastern Bengal.

9. Jām (p. 23a, signature see above, pl. 37). Under Thursday, Isfandārmuz 18th, 1027 (1618), Jahāngīr remarks in his Memoirs: "To-day the Zamīndār (feudal prince) Jām had the honour of kissing the floor in front of me. He brought as a gift 50 horses, 100 pieces of gold and 100 rupees. His name is Jassā, and Jām his title. Whoever succeeds him as ruler will always be called Jām. He is one of the greatest princes of Gujarāt and one of the most important Rājās of India. His land borders on the sea. He has a standing army of from 5,000 to 6,000 horsemen, and in time

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of war can put into the field about 12,000. There are many horses in his country. I presented him with a robe of state.” This Jasvanta, Yāma Rājā of Navānagar in Kathiavar, is known from a Jain inscription of 1675 Samvat (A.D. 1619). He was a Jadēya Rājput and belonged to the same family as the Rāō of Kachh (see above, No. 7). The founder of the dynasty was Jām Raval, who conquered the districts of Sorath, Jodiya, Amran, and Khambhāliya, and founded Navānagar in 1540.

10. Karan, Rānā of Udaipūr (p. 22b, with inscription, pl. 35). After the conquest of Chitōr by Akbar in 1567 Partāb Singh, successor of the weak Rānā Udaī Singh, organized afresh the opposition to the Moghuls. After his death in 1597 Amar Singh carried on the war with varying success, until in 1613 he was defeated, and in the following year submitted to the crown prince Khurram. The prince thereupon returned to his father at Ājmīr, and took the Rānā’s son Kunvar Karan with him. The Emperor thought he would dazzle the young Rājput, who had been brought up in the wild regions of the Araralli mountains, with the splendour of his court, and attach him to himself. He loaded him with honours and gifts, rode with him in person on tiger-hunts and raised him to the high position of commander of 5,000 men. In 1615 the Kunvar (heir to the throne) was given leave, and retired early in the next year to Udaipūr. Jahāngīr had statues of him and his father made and set up before the citadel of Āgrā. In the following years Karan took part in Sultān Khurram’s campaign in the Dekkan, but he returned home in 1619 to take possession of the throne of his deceased father. From 1623 his son Jagat Singh remained at court as his representative. Rānā Karan died in the same year as Jahāngīr, 1627.<sup>1</sup>

11. Khizr Khān Khāndēshī (p. 4b, with signature, pl. 7). He and his brother Ahmad Khān were members of the royal house of Khāndēsh on the Tapti, whose last independent ruler, Mīrān Bahādur, Akbar had deposed in 1600 after the conquest of the fortress of Asīrgarh. He lived as a state pensioner with an allowance of 30,000 rupees, in Āgrā. In 1620 the Emperor received Khizr Khān Fārūqī, as he called himself, on the Indian place of pilgrimage, Gōkula near Mathurā, and gave him a village in the neighbourhood of Āgrā. Beyond this nothing is known of him.

12. Mahābat Khān (p. 22b, with marginal note, pl. 35) Zamānah Bēg was the son of Ghayūr Bēg from Kābul. He served first in Jahāngīr’s train as Ahadī, but at his coronation was raised to the command of 1,500 men, and made Treasurer of the Privy Purse. In 1606 the Emperor sent him on an expedition against Prince Khusrau, then claiming the throne, and two years later against the Rānā of Udaipūr, whereupon he was raised to the command of 3,000 men. In 1609 he was succeeded by ‘Abdallāh Khān (see above, No. 1), but took over once again the command in Mēvar, and in 1612 inflicted on the Rānā the decisive defeat which soon led to the downfall of the latter. In the following year he was promoted to the command

<sup>1</sup> Another portrait of him in the Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, I, C 24345, p. 7a.

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of 4,000 men, and sent on various little missions to Udaipur, Ranthambhōr and the Dekkan. In 1617 the Emperor sent him as governor to Kābul and Bangash (in Eastern Afghanistan). When the rebellion of Shāh Jahān broke out, he received the title of Khān-Khānān and took command of the army against the rebellious prince, which Sultān Parvīz led as official chief. In 1622 and 1623 he won two decisive battles, so that Shāh Jahān was forced to flee to Golconda. When the Crown Prince had become reconciled with his father in 1625 the Empress Nūr-Jahān tried to avenge herself on the general for the injuries that had been inflicted on her favourite son, and succeeded in obtaining his dismissal. But in 1626 Mahābat Khān took by surprise the quarters of the royal couple on the banks of the Jhelam, and got possession of the person of Jahāngīr, and after a long struggle of the Empress also. In Kābul Nūr-Jahān at last succeeded in freeing her husband, but a reconciliation was patched up and Mahābat Khān was again sent against the rebellious Prince Shāh Jahān. But as there soon came about another breach with the Empress he went over to the Prince in the Dekkan. The latter came to the throne in 1628, and Mahābat Khān two years later became commander-in-chief in the Dekkan. As such he took the important fort of Daulatābād in 1633, but in the following year he was obliged to give up the siege of Parenda, and for that reason was superseded in the command by Khān Daurān. He died in the same year.<sup>1</sup>

13. Sūraj Singh Rāthōr, Rājā of Jodhpur (p. 22b, signature see above, pl. 35). He was the son of Mota Rājā Udai Singh, his sister Mānmatī Jagat Gosainī the wife of Jahāngīr and mother of the future Emperor, Shāh Jahān. In 1594 he conquered Bahādur, the son of Sultān Muzaffar III of Gujarāt, who had rebelled against Akbar and was raised to the governorship of Gujarāt in the next year. In 1608 he came to Āgrā to visit Jahāngīr, and was promoted to the command of 3,000 men, and ordered to the Dekkan. He took part in Khurram's attack on Rānā Amar Singh, then returned again to the Dekkan. Two years later, in 1615, he was again at court; his brother Kishan tried to make use of this opportunity to supplant him, but was himself killed in the attempt. Until his death in 1619 he spent his time in fighting in the Dekkan. His son, Gaj Singh, succeeded him on the throne of Jodhpur.

In order to appreciate the value of these portraits as historical documents, we must first attempt to put them in chronological order, taking into consideration the opportunities which we know to have existed for the originals having their portraits painted at court.

1608: Sūraj Singh (No. 13) went to Āgrā. (For date see above.) Ihtimām Khān (No. 8) was appointed to the command of the Bengali fleet. (The other occasion, the victory over Osman Afghan, need not be considered, for he was at that time absent from court, and therefore could hardly have been portrayed by a court painter.)

<sup>1</sup> Other portraits: Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, I, C 24347, p. 5a.—Brit. Mus. Add. 18,801, p. 28; cf. Binyon & Arnold, *Court Painters*, pl. 20.



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1609 : The date of the signature of Gövardhan on p. 25b (see above). 'Abdallāh Khān (No. 1) took over the supreme command against Rānā Amar Singh.

1611 : 'Abdallāh Khān (No. 1) appointed governor of Gujarāt. (On which of these two occasions the portrait was painted it is impossible to say.)

1612 : Abu'l-Nabī (No. 5) received the title of Bahādur Khān and became governor of Qandahār. Mahābat Khān (No. 12) conquered the Rānā.

1614 : Mīrzā Abu'l-Hasan (No. 4b) became commander over 5,000 men and received the title of Āsaf Khān. Bakhtar Khān Kalāvānt (No. 6) came to Jahāngīr's court at Ājmīr. (Epigraph, cf. p. 8.) Rānā Karan (No. 10) came to court.

1618 : Date of p. 14a (pl. 1). Jahāngīr visits the garden of 'Abd-ar-Rahīm Khān (No. 2) and expatiates on his life. (The only event concerning him in the year of the date of the picture; see above.) Rāō Bhārah (No. 7) visits Jahāngīr in Ahmadābād (according to the inscription, see above). The Jām of Navānagar (No. 9) paid homage to the Emperor.

1620 : Lawsuit. The scandalous affair of 'Abd-al-Wahhāb (No. 3). Khizr Khān Fārūqī (No. 11) received in audience (yet both pictures may possibly be earlier; see p. 11).

We have already, in the first chapter, considered the conclusions which can be drawn from these dates as to the time of the compilation of the album; some of the other persons depicted cannot be identified (e.g. pls. 9, 36 and 37). Doubtless there are among the larger compositions several, besides those already mentioned, which have actual historical events for their subject. Chief among these are the sea-fight (pl. 31) and the murder scene (pl. 2), for which the authors have not been able to find a satisfactory explanation. In the same way, doubtless, well-known people of the time may be indicated in some of the border pictures.

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**I**T has already been pointed out that our album does not form an original unity; that besides pictures dating from the time of its compilation are to be found copies of Persian miniatures, as well as Indian works of the period of the first Moghuls.

But even the Persian pictures are at least in close connection with Moghul history. They belong to the time when the Great Moghuls had entered temporarily into closest contact with the Shāhs of Persia. Our album is therefore a kind of picture book illustrating the history of the civilization of the earlier period of the Moghul empire. There are to be found, somewhat indiscriminately mixed up with each other, documents of the early Chagatāi period in Hindūstān under Bābur and Humāyān,<sup>1</sup> of Persia under the older Safavids,<sup>2</sup> and of the flourishing period of the newly re-established empire under Akbar<sup>3</sup> and Jahāngīr.<sup>4</sup>

Naturally an inquiry into the social history connected with Indian miniatures has its difficulties. So wide and multiform a subject demands the most careful handling. Completely different civilizations are found side by side, and though the horizon of miniature painting may appear to show narrow limits as an art confined to the court, nevertheless it extended over the whole of north India and part of the Dekkan, and was practised by Hindus as well as Muhammadans. Nor was the development of Indian civilization by any means as restricted as is generally supposed, and changes, especially in the habits of the upper classes, took place there no more slowly than in mediaeval Europe. It is therefore necessary to inquire with every single page as to its age and origin. The literary sources which ought to guide us are for the most part useless. It is true there exists a rich historical literature on Muslim India, but it is for the most part confined to purely political and biographical subjects. There are here and there interesting allusions to the history of civilization, but they are for the most part of such a general nature, and so much is taken for granted by the writer, that there is little to take hold of. Muslim and Indian history is in the minds of its writers always exclusively court history. They were only interested in the lives of their princes and great men. It is therefore not easy, by reading between the lines, and from occasional remarks, to disentangle the intellectual, domestic, and inner political movements, information which, according to our modern

<sup>1</sup> pp. 1a, 2b, 3a, 7a (above), 8b, 9a (above), 10a (below), 18a, 20a, 22a, 23b (below), 24a (pls. 28, 25, 26, 19, 15, 20, 22, 14, 24).

<sup>2</sup> pp. 9b, 11a, 19b (pl. 33).

<sup>3</sup> pp. 1a (below), 3b (above), 5b, 7a (below), 10a (above), 11b (below), 12b, 13b, 16a (above), 16b, 17a (above), 19a, 21b, 23b (above), 24b, 25a (pls. 28, 21, 26, 15, 29, 31, 38, 2, 34, 39).

<sup>4</sup> pp. 4b, 6a, 6b, 9a (below), 13a, 18b, 20b, 21a, 22b, 23a, 25a (pls. 5, 40, 36, 35, 37).

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notions of historical writing, is quite indispensable. Old European books of travel on the other hand give the most detailed descriptions, but they swarm with misunderstandings and confusions. Moreover, this subject has till now received very little attention, so that it is impossible to attempt a serious explanation of many of the pictures; we shall therefore have to limit ourselves to generalities.

As the main theme of future inquiries concerning this period we must emphasize the cultural intercourse between the Moghul court and the old Hindu centres—an intercourse which must have been much more important than is generally recognized. We have in a previous chapter briefly considered the political rôle of the Rājput princes, and we will merely add here that their influence made itself felt in many directions. The male attire of the Moghuls since the time of Akbar is derived from the Rājputs of Rājasthān, women's clothes since the later years of Jahāngīr were copied from the Rājputnīs of Jammū and Kāngrā in the western Himalayas. Akbar's new school of painting was influenced in many respects by them, and the Persian as well as the Hindī poetry of the time bears their stamp. Nau'ī's Sūz-u-Gudāz praised their ideal of womankind, the translations of the great epics as well as the Hindī poetry of Sūrdās became familiar at their court; their faith flourished among the women in Akbar's Zenāna, their customs, for example, the weighing of the ruler against gold and other metals, which were then given away, the Holy festival on which the people sprinkled each other with sweet scents, and many others were adopted by the Moghuls.<sup>1</sup> The combination of Muhammadan and Hindu mysticism especially is responsible for many developments which we shall consider later. Apart from general Muhammadan influences, Persian civilization is very conspicuous, always admired and in many respects imitated, while in certain peculiarities, especially of costume, the Turko-Mongolian origin of this dynasty, so many-sided in its interests, is unmistakable.

The treatment of the subjects taken by the painters from life is generally sufficiently realistic to give a just representation of the events. As would naturally be expected in view of the society for which this album was intended, subjects taken from court life form an important part of the collection, quite apart from the pages which deal with definite historical events of which we have already spoken. We often see a prince on his throne with a fan-bearer standing behind him (pl. 21), a servant kneeling before him (pl. 25), or drawing on his shoe (p. 23b), or again he is gathering flowers (p. 19a), or receiving a courtier (p. 6a). In another place his falconer stands beside him, and they are bringing to him some of the ducks he has killed (p. 21b). Throughout, hunting scenes, painted with extraordinarily careful

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. Goetz, "Studien zur Rajputen-Malerei": *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 1922-3, p. 46 sqq., and 1923-4. F. Hutchinson and J. Ph. Vogel, in a monograph in the *Journal of the Panjāb Historical Society*, Calcutta, 1911 sqq. The biographies in the Ma'āsir-al-'Umarā of Shāhnavāy Khān. Reay, *History of Hindī Literature*, Calcutta, London, 1920. Abu'l-Fazl, *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, in various places. *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, trans. A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, London, 1909-14, various passages, but especially ii, 217 sqq., etc.

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observation, are a favourite subject. We see how lions were shot with muskets (pl. 24), how an elephant was laden with a captured tiger (pl. 23), how gazelles were caught in nets, and hunted on foot and horseback (ib. and pl. 27). Among other very vivid subjects is a hunter at rest, drinking from a flask. There are several falconers (p. 6a, pl. 26). Battle scenes are more rarely represented (pls. 22 and 18; a sea-fight, pls. 3 and 31), and in one large miniature is depicted the training of an elephant (pl. 34).

Another group of pictures is taken from the lives of scholars and students. We come across in various attitudes dignified shaikhs, thoughtful mollahs, and eager scholars, some alone, reading, writing, meditating, others in groups, now disputing, now with the teacher instructing the young men by lecture or dictation, while the books lie open on their hands or on a folding desk (see plates 28, 21, 26, 38, 20, 14, and pages 9a, 14b, 16a, 17a, 19a, 23b).

We often find both classes, of the court and the schools, represented in the pleasant occupation of eating and drinking. Young princes and scholars are often shown feasting (pls. 21, 28, and pages 14b, 16a), and at the same time we can often see how the drink was prepared, mixed, filtered, cooled or served on the table (pl. 19 and pp. 17a, 19a, 25b); in the same way the preparation and serving of food is sometimes portrayed (pls. 25, 24, and p. 19a). The playing of music is shown in several places: in one picture we see a player on the organ (pl. 28), then a couple, man and woman, with musical instruments (pl. 25), in another a trumpet player, dressed in a high cap, with his companion who strikes a small kettle-drum (pl. 22), and lastly players on the harp and tambourine, delighting the ears of their master who is sitting in a tree (pl. 13). There is also a young man with a flower in his hand, graphically portrayed in what is obviously the movement of a dance (pl. 21).

We can also gather interesting information about the way in which various trades were carried on. We see, for example, a dyer at his work (pl. 20), a water-seller who in one place draws water from a spring, and in another pours the refreshing draught from his leather bottle into the cup of a boy (p. 21b). There is also a sherbet-shop in which the various drinks stand ready in jugs and bottles (pl. 19). On the large painting of a city gate here represented in colour (pl. 1), we see a baker in his shop, besides a gardener, a woodseller, and a water carrier, while below, on the left, several women are making lace. A whole page (pl. 26) is devoted to a spirited representation of episodes in a shepherd's life.

More important are the glimpses into the lives of the makers of our album. We see the master occupied with polishing the paper (pl. 20), and there are several portraits of painters by their own hands. Two little pictures (p. 39) show them to us at their work. We see how seated on the floor they took the colours out of little mussel shells with their brushes, while near by stood a water pot and a stand for brushes (Qalamdān). In one place an old man in spectacles is painting a Madonna.

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They do not seem so much artists in our sense of the word, as industrious, well-trained craftsmen. And this is what they were as they went morning after morning to the studio where they worked under the eye of a master. It is interesting to see what a European traveller has to say on the subject—

“ I have often admired the beauty, softness, and delicacy of their paintings and miniatures, and was particularly struck with the exploits of *Ekbar*, painted on a shield by a celebrated artist, who is said to have been seven years in completing the picture. I thought it a wonderful performance. The *Indian* painters are chiefly deficient in just proportions and in the expression of the face ; but these defects would soon be corrected if they possessed good masters, and were instructed in the rules of art. Want of genius, therefore, is not the reason why works of superior art are not exhibited in the capital. If the artists and manufacturers were encouraged, the useful and fine arts would flourish, but these unhappy men are contemned, treated with harshness, and inadequately remunerated for their labour. The rich will have every article at a cheap rate. When an *omrah* or *mansebdar* requires the services of an artisan, he sends to the *bazar* for him, employs force, if necessary, to make the poor man work ; and after the task is finished, the unfeeling lord pays, not according to the value of the labour, but agreeably to his own standard of fair remuneration ; the artist having reason to congratulate himself if the *korrah* has not been given in part payments. How then can it be expected that any spirit of emulation should animate the artist or manufacturer ? Instead of contending for a superiority of reputation, his only anxiety is to finish his work, and to earn the pittance that shall supply him with a piece of bread. The artists, therefore, who arrive at any eminence in their art are those only who are in the service of the King or some powerful *omrah*, and who work exclusively for their patron. . . . Large halls are seen in many places called *kar-kanays* or workshops for the artisans. In one hall embroiderers are busily employed, superintended by a master. In another you see the goldsmiths ; in a third painters, etc. . . . The artisans repair every morning to their respective *kar-kanays*, where they remain employed the whole day ; and in the evening return to their homes. In this quiet and regular manner their time glides away ; no one aspiring after any improvement in the condition of life wherein he happens to be born.” <sup>1</sup>

We must here deal in rather more detail with another subject on which Indian miniature painting throws an interesting sidelight. Sir T. W. Arnold has recently published a monograph <sup>2</sup> on the importance of miniatures for the history of Islam in India. Since in India especially Islam was strongly influenced by Sufism, it was

<sup>1</sup> François Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, 1656–68, pp. 254–9, Westminster, 1891.

<sup>2</sup> “ Indian Painting and Muhammadan Culture ” : *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, vol. lxix, p. 624 sqq.

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possible for it to be represented in art. Certainly the portraiture of divine beings and prophets was never permitted, and in this the Indian Muhammadans, though they went their own way on so many points, have remained orthodox. But the higher truths of mysticism could not be taught en masse, they demanded the closest personal relations between teachers and scholars: Muslim mysticism found its cultivation essentially in the monastic brotherhoods, and it was therefore inevitable that a regular system of homage to the great saints and spiritual leaders should grow up. It is thus easy to understand that these people should be favourite subjects for pictures, and our album contains a number of such paintings.

1. On p. 8b (pl. 38) there is a picture of an aged monk to whom a young man is reading out of a book. A comparison with other miniatures leads to the conclusion that we have to do with a well-known person. Very similar portraits are to be found in the Museum of Ethnology, at Berlin, I, C 24343, p. 27a, and I, C 24344, p. 29a, the latter described as Hazrat-i-Pīr Dastgīr. Can it be that we have a portrait of that saint here?

2. On p. 16a, on the lower border, is seen a dervish squatting on the floor, reading a book. This picture also bears no name, yet it is very probable that the original is identical with the person portrayed in the pictures classified in the Berlin Museum of Ethnology, I, C 24335, p. 26a, and I, C 24343, p. 27a. The identity of this holy man can unfortunately not be established. But all the portraits of this unknown saint show an uncommon broad-brimmed hat, which is not generally to be found.

3. Another unknown dervish on p. 9a at the top, and 23b at the bottom. In both cases it is almost the same picture. Before a little cave in the rock there sits on the ground a grey-haired man, with a long pointed beard; he wears nothing but an apron, and on his head a little felt hat, pushed rather far back, bordered with a strip of fur. Before him sits the Great Moghul Bābur drinking in his words. It is impossible for us to say exactly who the holy man is. Yet the scene is so typical, and so definitely marked by the portrait of the Emperor, that it is reasonable to hope that other miniatures and literary discoveries will throw a clearer light upon it. Anyhow the dress of the Emperor leads to the conclusion that the picture must deal with an event which happened about 1530.

4. Another, also unnamed, picture on p. 22a (pl. 14), a learned old man before a prince—it probably represents Shaikh Salīm Chishtī<sup>1</sup> and the Emperor Jahāngīr. The portrait of the saint agrees with that in the Museum of Ethnology at Berlin, I, C 24344, p. 34a,<sup>2</sup> while on the other hand the one reproduced by V. A. Smith (*Akbar the Great Mogul*, Oxford, 1917, pl. 102), taken from the Johnson collection in the India Office, which must be compared with it, is not very like. It is, however, unfortunately a fact, that as regards Indian portraits, we can by no means rely upon

<sup>1</sup> Badāʾunī, *Muntakhab-at-Tavarikh*, trans. Haig, iii, pp. 18-27, 1899.

<sup>2</sup> Kuhnelt, *Minaturnmalerei im islam. Orient*, p. 103, Berlin, 1922.

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their being authentic even if they bear a name. And as far as the material in hand compared with other series of pictures it would seem that the sixteenth and seventeenth century portraits in the Johnson collection are not entirely authentic. The prince sitting opposite the holy man can, judging from his appearance as well as from his Persian clothes, be none other than Prince Salīm. At all events, one must consider this picture as more reliable than those which till now have been published of Salīm Chishtī and his disciple.

5. Among the miniatures most closely related to those of the Bihzād school, p. 19b, is described as *Āmadan-i Wālidah-i Sultān Muhammad Khwārizm-Shāh ba-khidmat-i Shaikh Majd-ad-Dīn Baghdādī*, "the mother of Sultān Muhammad of Khwārizm (Khiwa), does honour to Shaikh Majd-ad-Dīn Baghdādī."

But the miniatures are by no means limited to representations of Muslim saints. Their interest turns equally on the Hindu religion. And this is true not only of the paintings which were executed at the command of Rājās and other Hindu noblemen, but also the Moghul Emperors commanded them to be represented in pictures. One must never forget that long intercourse brought about a certain resemblance between Muhammadans and Hindus in India. It is true that the followers of the Prophet never approved of the temple services. At best they merely tolerated it, but in general have always been inclined to overthrow and profane the hated idol houses, and then turn them into mosques. But it was quite different when it came to purely spiritual and mystical questions. We can here only briefly mention the great importance which Sufism and its orders of dervishes had for Moslem India. The mysticism of the Sufis, although only in a very small degree drawn from Eastern sources, is in its essential doctrines very little different from Indian asceticism. It is therefore not very surprising that we find Sufism and Vedanta frankly placed on the same level. Jahāngīr once remarks in his memoirs,<sup>1</sup> "This Sannyāsi (Jādrūp) is occupied with holy learning, for he is a master of the teaching of the Vedas, which is the teaching of the Sufis." And Jahāngīr's grandson, Prince Dārā Shikōh,<sup>2</sup> not only had the *Jog Bashist* (Yoga-Vasishta) and *Sirr-al-Akbar* (Upanishads) translated into Persian, but also tried in his *Majma'-al-Bahrain* to prove that between Islam and Hinduism there was only a difference of expression, not at all of faith. Akbar also, and Shaikh Abu'l-Fazl, his most influential councillor in these matters, were of the same opinion.

"Oh God, in each sanctuary I see those who seek Thee  
And in every language which I hear spoken, they praise Thee.  
The servants of God and of Islam strive towards Thee,  
And every creed proclaims, 'Thou art one, without equal!'"

(*Abu'l-Fazl 'Allāmi.*)

<sup>1</sup> *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, trans. by A. Rogers and H. Beveridge, London, 1909, p. 356.

<sup>2</sup> Pandit Sheo Narain, "Dara Shikoh as Author": *Journal of the Punjab Hist. Soc.*, ii, No. 1, pp. 21-38, 1913.

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The Veda which the Moghuls must have learnt, was not the extreme Advaita teaching of Shankarāchārya, which is the most familiar to us, but various forms of the Vishnu in Vishishtādvaita, which inclined to a much sharper distinction between creature and creator. As the example of Dārā's teacher, Lāl Svāmin, shows, an example which was probably followed in many other cases, the teachers of the Muslims in the secrets of Indian mysticism were almost all believers in Vishnu, for the most part followers of the cult of Krishna, some also worshippers of Rāma. If the Vishishtādvaita could be easily identified with the Sūfī Tauhīd doctrine, its teaching of the love of God (*'ishq*) corresponded to the Bhakti doctrine. Moreover, Sufism as well as later Vishnuism attached less importance to orthodoxy than to spiritual experience, and in the propagation of the faith, preaching, appealing to emotion and religious songs, played the chief part. These songs were in both cases love songs with a mystical interpretation. The border lines between the Muslim and Hindu ascetics were thus to some extent obliterated, and a certain coming and going between them was by no means uncommon. Sannyāsis went to learn at the feet of dervishes, Muhammadans became the pupils of the great Bhaktas. Kabīr and Nānak taught the identity of Allāh and Rāma, while Muhammadans like 'Alī Bhagavān,<sup>1</sup> Haridās, and Rāmdās<sup>2</sup> went over to the faith of Vishnu.

The earlier Moghul Emperors had all been since their childhood in close touch with some one of the dervish orders or else with some orthodox group. It is true they leaned more or less to Sufism in one or other of its forms, and shared its wide religious views. Bābur and Humāyūn were members of one of the Sufī sects of Central Asia. Akbar then, starting from Sufism, made a new departure. The Jains and Parsees shared with the Christians the highest place in his favour. Jahāngīr followed his father in this as in so many other things, here also with less seriousness and greater scepticism it is true. And if he personally showed little interest in the teachers of Hinduism yet he allowed them to do as they pleased; but his relations with Gōsāin Jādrūp<sup>3</sup> show that occasionally he would take more interest in the faith of his Hindu subjects. Jahāngīr's visit to Jādrūp has thus often been represented by court painters,<sup>4</sup> and if our album shows a number of pictures of Hindu ascetics it is not to be wondered at. What kind of sect they each belonged to would be very difficult to determine. We know very little about the outward appearance of Indian ascetics in the last centuries. We must also remember that several of the pictures in the album

<sup>1</sup> Grierson, "Modern Hinduism": *JRAS.*, 1907, p. 231.

<sup>2</sup> Dinesh Chandra Sen, *History of Bengali Literature*, 1911, p. 509 sqq. *Chaitanyacharitāmrita*, transl. J. N. Sarkar, p. 126 sqq., p. 226 sqq., Calcutta, 1913, etc. There may also be mentioned the friendship between the Śaiva saint Lal Ded of Kashmir and the Moslem missionary Shaikh Husain Hamadānī. See Grierson-Barnett, *Lallā Vākyaṇī*, London, 1920.

<sup>3</sup> *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī*, i, 355, 359; ii, 49, 52, 104, 105, 108. A. Coomaraswamy, "Portrait of Gosain Jadrup": *JRAS.*, 1919, p. 389 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, I, C 24352, p. 4a.



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are merely adaptations of European hunting scenes, which the painters have altered for their own purposes. There are six such pictures :—

1. p. 6b, on the right at the bottom. An *Aśrama*, namely, the settlement of a group of *yōgīs*. A little camp fire under a fig tree, a few copper vessels for ceremonial ablutions, a few religious books, that is all. Round the fire sit the holy men, with crossed legs, sprinkled with ashes, their unkempt hair falling in long strands, their loins loosely girded with dark red cloths. They are almost all in a deep trance, with their eyes closed. This subject is very common in Indian miniatures.

2. p. 6b, on the right at the top (pl. 40). A wandering ascetic with his dog. This picture is certainly merely an adaptation of a European hunting scene, for the details of the costume, for instance the shoes, are not Indian. The hair is brushed back and hangs long and loose. The mantle is most like that of the Indian *Sannyāsīs* in the miniature paintings. It is made of a coarse black or dark red material, with a very characteristic pattern of fine stripes. In his left hand the wanderer carries a sack with his begging bowl, a staff, and a rake with which to gather in alms.<sup>1</sup>

3. p. 13a, on the left at the bottom. A similar *Sannyāsī*,<sup>2</sup> also with his dog on a pilgrimage. His clothes are on the whole the same. But he wears under the black mantle a red *langōtī*, and round his neck hangs a necklace of coloured beads.<sup>3</sup> He has in his hand a fan of beautiful plaited straw.

4. p. 13a, on the right at the top (pl. 41). Two similar wandering ascetics. Here also a European picture must have been adapted.

5. p. 13a, on the left at the top (pl. 40). A hermit in front of his dwelling, a cave in a rock. It is overshadowed by a high tree under which he sits by day. His dress is that usually worn. He is receiving an old Portuguese woman, who is begging him to bless her son, who has prostrated himself before the holy man. For, as Manucci remarks, the Portuguese women of India were very superstitious, and sought salvation, Christians though they were, more often from the native ascetics than from their own priests.

It is hardly possible to ascribe the different ascetics which we have just been considering to any particular sect. Though they belong to different types, they give us no help in this direction by bearing definite emblems belonging to one sect, characteristic instruments, or ornament. It is different, however, with the last picture.

6. p. 6b, on the left at the top (pl. 40). A holy man of a rather uncommon type. He wears a skin about his loins, held together by a richly decorated girdle. From his wrists, neck, and forearms hang bands and chains, and in his ears are rich rings. Over his breast falls a garland of flowers, such as were generally offered in temples. It is decorated with a large *dopatta*. His feet rest in raised wooden sandals,

<sup>1</sup> A similar one in the Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, I, C 10756.

<sup>2</sup> N.B. the blue skin instead of brown; cf. the Indian expression *nīla* = *syāma* = *krishna*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 13a, on the left: Museum of Ethnology, I, C 24348, p. 23a; Prussian State Library, Berlin, Libr. pict. A. 11, p. 233.

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fastened by a peg between the first two toes. In his right hand he holds a two-stringed vīṇā with only one sounding-gourd, with the other hand he waves a large round fan with a long handle, the edge decorated with peacocks feathers. His hair hangs in a loose knot over his brow, as was the custom with most shwaite yogis. In spite of this, this particular holy man seems to be a Vishnavite, for his body is smeared with ashes and stamped on arms and breast with the word "Rāma". Moreover, on his brow, between the eyes, there is the characteristic forked sign of the faith of Vishnu. This young wandering votary is probably one of the numerous singers who travelled throughout the land, and popularized the mystical love songs of the great Bhaktas among nobles and peasants.

We shall consider in greater detail in the next chapter a subject which is especially important if we are to amplify our picture of the periods to which our album belongs—costume. Every attempt to make use of Indian miniatures in dealing with the problems of the history of Indian civilization must of necessity remain fragmentary. Some points stand out more or less clearly, and throw a fresh light on the fragmentary picture left by books of travel and history, but between them all is darkness. And yet the little which we do know is rich and interesting enough. For there is one thing which the miniatures show with greater clearness than any other of the sources—the fierce struggle which Indian, Iranian, and European civilization fought out on the battleground of Hindustan. The periods in which a civilization is so strong that it can develop its individuality, pure and powerful, and can absorb or destroy every alien element, are rare. More often there is a long, more or less undecided struggle, from which a new kind of culture emerges, and only gradually attains a purity of its own.

The Muhammadan dominion in Hindustan marks the birth of modern India, and the state of civilization which the miniatures reveal forms a part of the various phases in the amalgamation of Hinduism and the Islam of Central Asia. This process came to an end at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when it was cut short in the struggle with European civilization. But behind that are new worlds. For the India which Islam invaded was no longer that of the old classical times, but belonged to the feudal period of the Rājputs. This, again, had taken its origin in that savage epoch in which—after the great poet Kālidāsa had sunk, like the last star of old India, below the horizon—barbarian hordes poured across the passes of Afghanistan, and slowly but surely the whole of Northern India was submerged. In the same slow battle the Brahman culture had won the invaders over, and finally the Muhammadan invasions turned the would-be conquerors of olden times to the defenders of Indian individuality. And so wave followed on wave, making new conflicts and new generations of culture. The miniature paintings which we have before us are witnesses and memorials of the last two great waves before the final irruption of Europe.



## History of Costume

IT is not easy to reconstruct the history of the dress of the Moghuls in the earlier periods, as it is derived for the most part from the nearer East. And so long as our knowledge of Persian and Eastern Turkish dress remains obscure, especially until we are able to tell what comes from Persia, and what from Bokhara and Samarkand, we shall have to grope in the dark. But already under Humāyūn there is recognizable a particular clearly circumscribed Moghul dress, and under Akbar we can trace its fusion with the customary Hindu dress, till in the reign of Jahāngīr the classical Moghul costume finally appears. This is the costume which the old European books of travel, especially Manucci in his *Storia do Mogor*,<sup>1</sup> have described. We can thus see from our album the origin of the dress of the Indian Muhammadans of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The modern costume of Muslim India, on the other hand, was only evolved at the beginning of the nineteenth century from a combination of the former with the eighteenth century costume of Afghanistan and also of Persia.

The costumes of the old kingdom of Tamerlane probably go back to the dress of the Mongols and Turks of Genghiz Khān. They had, indeed, much improved since then. With the men the principal article of clothing was the *jāmah*, a long-sleeved coat, which reached to the knees or sometimes to the ankles, and was fastened under the right shoulder. With the exception of the “*tirāz*” (tapestry stripes on the upper arm), it scarcely differed from the clothes usually worn by the Abbāsīd Khalīfahs. These, however, were fastened on the left side, at least so it appears from the Arabian miniatures<sup>2</sup> and the Roghes pottery. We shall find it later on in India, taken over by the Hindus, as the national costume until the eighteenth century. The fastening on the right side is in any case an innovation of the Mongols. Below it they wore trousers (*shalvār*), generally tucked into long-legged boots. The *pēshvāz* was very much like the *jāmah*, generally made on the same pattern, except that it was fastened in front in the middle of the breast. This was finished off with a little turn-down collar<sup>3</sup> or a wider, richly worked, and elaborately constructed collar.<sup>4</sup> The fastening was often made with finely carved gold buttons (*tükme*),<sup>5</sup> which were sometimes worked round with braid as in the huzzar uniform.<sup>6</sup> In this

<sup>1</sup> Vol. II, p. 339 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. Kuhnelt, *Miniaturmalerei im Islam. Orient*, pl. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Pls. 28, 27, 2, 20.

<sup>4</sup> Martin, *Miniature Painting*, pls. 57, 81, 89; Schulz, *Persisch-Islam. Miniaturmalerei*, pl. 74. Pls. 25, 32, 27.

<sup>5</sup> Pls. 32 and 27.

<sup>6</sup> Kuhnelt, loc. cit., pl. 70a. Martin, pl. 10b. Pl. 27, 2.

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case there were also buttons on the belt,<sup>1</sup> which otherwise was generally only a loosely tied scarf. The third kind of coat was the "farjī",<sup>2</sup> which religious and learned men and high officials generally affected. It was an open cloak, not very long, as a rule with an edging of fur round the neck, and half sleeves. Under Humāyūn there came in another form<sup>3</sup> with long loose sleeves, in which half-way up cross slits let out the arms and the sleeves of the jāmāh. It can be traced in Persia under Shāh Tahmāsp,<sup>4</sup> and later in the Dekkan under 'Alī 'Ādilshāh,<sup>5</sup> of Bījāpūr. The farjī served only as a cloak over the jāmāh or the pēshvāz. The latter was sometimes worn over the jāmāh, or either of them alone, but never all three together. We sometimes find other types which were a cross between these three costumes. Naturally the fashions of these costumes changed slowly, but we are not able to follow them out more in detail.

The change in the men's taste found its clearest expression only in the head-dress, the cap and the turban. The cap is found in a large number of different forms. The people wore for the most part a felt cap (kulāh) with a broad brim of lambswool (qalpaq), and only the very poor and the dervishes appear without this. Another form<sup>6</sup> was common in which the brim was slit up either in the middle or on both sides, and then turned back, as in the hats of the modern Kirghiz. In this case the cap worn by people of high degree was richly decorated, and finished off with a boss or a bunch of feathers. This brings us to the old Turkish civilization. In the Uigurish wall paintings of eastern Turkestan,<sup>7</sup> as well as among the foreign types in the Buddhist cave frescoes of Ajantā,<sup>8</sup> we find all these hats and caps. But the last-named form in particular seems to be first introduced under Genghiz Khān,<sup>9</sup> and on the conquest of China seems to have become the forerunner of the modern mandarin's hat. In Persia and Turkestan, however, it soon became a garment for nobles, princes, and princesses (tāj-Kulāh). It had, instead of the turned-up brim, a richly embroidered border, or else one of metal like our gothic crowns.<sup>10</sup> Bābur<sup>11</sup> still wore it, but with the break up of the empire of Tamerlane it soon went out of fashion, although the more conservative women still occasionally wore it in the time of Akbar.<sup>12</sup> Under the emperor Humāyūn another form of this hat<sup>13</sup> prevailed at

<sup>1</sup> Pls. 25, 33, 32, 27, 24.

<sup>2</sup> Pls. 28, 25, 33, 31, 32, 20, 24.

<sup>3</sup> Pl. 21.

<sup>4</sup> Pl. 15 (below): Turban. Kuhnel, loc. cit., pl. 63.

<sup>5</sup> Berlin Museum of Ethnology, I, C 24333, p. 29a.

<sup>6</sup> Pls. 29, 31.

<sup>7</sup> Grünwedel, *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkestan*, pp. 54, 122, 213, Berlin, 1922.

<sup>8</sup> Griffiths, *The paintings of the Buddhist Cave Temples at Ajantā*, i, pl. 5, ii, pls. 94, 107, London, 1897.

<sup>9</sup> Martin, loc. cit., pls. 43, 44.

<sup>10</sup> Martin, pls. 69, 107, 132, etc. Pl. 25, 24.

<sup>11</sup> Schulz, loc. cit., vol. i, pl. 9.

<sup>12</sup> Binyon and Arnold, *Court Painters of the Grand Moghuls*, London, 1921, pl. 7.

<sup>13</sup> Martin, pls. 182, 183; pl. 32, 24.

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the Moghul court. The crown was very high, and flat at the top, the brim caught up in front in the middle. The whole thing was apparently worked in lacquered paste, and it was merely a fashionable form of the soft and humble felt hat. In consequence a small turban cloth was often folded across the crown. It is, moreover, noticeable that this fashion while it was still unknown in Turkestan and Persia, is anticipated in representations of heathens in Flemish pictures<sup>1</sup> between 1460 and 1520, as is also a diadem<sup>2</sup> which was then fashionable among the women, but which came lower over the ears. It will be difficult to explain this parallel. But it is significant that such parallels between European and Central Asiatic civilization are also to be found in the twelfth<sup>3</sup> and fourteenth centuries,<sup>4</sup> so that they cannot be attributed to a mere accident.

The turban is a combination of the little cap (*tōpī*) with a sash, which was at first rolled round it, but later sewn on. The changing proportion of the inside cap in relation to the sash and the various ways of rolling the latter, now constitute the only differences in the way turbans were worn. For the present it will be hardly possible to classify them properly. There is not much in the accounts left by the historians, and the date of the miniatures is not at all certain. Bābur mentions them once or twice in his *Wāqī'āt*: "Omar Shaikh (1456-94) wound his turban in the manner which is called 'dastar-pēch' (twisted turban). At that time all turbans were worn in the *chārpēch* (many-folded) style. He wore it without plaits, and let one end hang down. But during the hottest part of the year, if he was not in the *Dīwān*, he generally wore the Moghul cap."<sup>5</sup> "Sultān Ahmad Mīrzā (1451-94) wore his turban according to the then prevailing fashion, in the form which was called *chārmāq* (much folded), with the binding or border brought low over the eyebrows."<sup>6</sup> "Generally on feast days Sultān Husain Mīrzā (*Baiqarā*) wore a little turban which was folded three times; it was broad and splendid, and he used to stick a feather in it and go to prayers in it."<sup>7</sup> The development which the miniatures show us can be summed up roughly as follows: About 1500 a very small turban was in use, with a small cap standing out very little, the band wound tight and flat round it.<sup>8</sup> In the next period it became wider, the sash was crossed in front, leaving a three-cornered piece of the cap exposed, and one end hanging free at the left.<sup>9</sup> Then owing to the influence of the fashions of Herat under Husain Baiqarā,<sup>10</sup> the turban became much broader, until about 1530,

<sup>1</sup> e.g. in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, on the portrait of J. Cornelisy.

<sup>2</sup> Martin, pl. 100. Pl. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Grünwedel, *Alt-Kutscha*, p. 1, 22 sqq., Berlin, 1921.

<sup>4</sup> Martin, loc. cit., ii, pl. 28 (above).

<sup>5</sup> *Bābur-Nāmah*, trans. Leyden and Erskine, London, 1826, p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.*, p. 20. Is that the turban drawn back from the forehead, on pl. 38?

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*, p. 177.

<sup>8</sup> Schulz, loc. cit., pl. 56 (1496). Martin, pls. 69-72, etc., p. 12a, 14b.

<sup>9</sup> British Museum, Or. Add. 5717, p. 52. Martin, pl. 90. Pl. 19, 1.

<sup>10</sup> Martin, pls. 89, 92. Kuhnel, loc. cit., pls. 74-6.

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the year of Bābur's death, its diameter was almost double that of the head.<sup>1</sup> The cap no longer showed, part of the sash was drawn diagonally across the plaits of the turban, and the end fell across the left shoulder. Under Humāyūn it was almost entirely supplanted by the high Chagatai hat and became, especially with the religious orders, a much smaller object. The adoption of this hat was probably encouraged by the visit of Humāyūn to the court of Shāh Tahmāsp. The existing religious hatred makes it very improbable that the head-dress, as so much else, could be taken over from the Persians, but the high red tāj<sup>2</sup> of the disciples of Shaikh Safī, the Qyzylbāshs (Red Caps), paved the way for the adoption of the head-dress, so typical of this period. The tāj was a high red cap<sup>3</sup> which was generally bound with a cloth in twelve folds after the twelve holy Imāms. This Shi'ite turban, still thick and clumsy under Ismā'īl Shāh, lengthened under Tahmāsp to a very graceful shape.<sup>4</sup> It was still generally worn about 1545. But a new flatter form<sup>5</sup> of it had appeared about 1539. The fashions of the tāj mentioned in the accounts of European travellers belong to the period about 1700. The Persians under Shāh 'Abbās the Great generally wore a very broad and loosely wound turban or a felt hat. Another similar head-dress cut high in front, which can be traced in Persia about 1540, seems to have been a Turkish fashion.<sup>6</sup>

The chief article of women's clothing was a long chemise (Qamīs)<sup>7</sup> with narrow sleeves, open from the bosom to the waist, and fastened at the throat. Over that came a second garment<sup>8</sup> rather like it, generally made of dark cloth with a small V left open at the throat. To this were often added farjī, girdles, tāj-kulāh,<sup>9</sup> and other articles borrowed from male attire. The time of Humāyūn has its own peculiarities. The Persian women of those days wore a cap with a diadem<sup>10</sup> jutting out over the ears. Can this be the tāq which Gulbadan Bēgam<sup>11</sup> mentions as the head-dress of unmarried girls? Or is that the high crested cap<sup>12</sup> which was introduced later, and remained in use until the days of Akbar? Married women wore it with a veil (lachak), which was fastened under the chin. Another veil which was laid over a kind of fillet,<sup>13</sup> with one end hanging loose, was a survival of the empire of

<sup>1</sup> Martin, pl. 104 (1530). Pls. 28, 25, 21, 26, 15, 20.

<sup>2</sup> A. von Le Coq, *Kyzylbash & Yashulbash*: (*Orient. Archiv.*), iii, pp. 61-5, 1912-13.

<sup>3</sup> Pl. 33.

<sup>4</sup> Kühnel, loc. cit., pls. 59-63. Martin, pls. 97-9, 106, 109-11, 115-128, 130-8, to 182.

<sup>5</sup> Martin, pl. 143 (1539). Pl. 15.

<sup>6</sup> Kühnel, loc. cit., pl. 78, 81. Martin, pl. 141. *Berichte aus den Berliner Kunstsammlungen*, vol. 41, Bk. 4, 1920. Pl. 15 left.

<sup>7</sup> Pls. 15, 1, 32, 24.

<sup>8</sup> Pls. 25, 1, 32, 24.

<sup>9</sup> Pls. 25, 24.

<sup>10</sup> Martin, loc. cit., pl. 100. Kühnel, loc. cit., pl. 57. Pl. 32.

<sup>11</sup> Gulbadan Bēgam, *Hist. Humāyūn*, ed. A. S. Beveridge, pp. 31, 138, London, 1902.

<sup>12</sup> Pl. 15, above. Martin, loc. cit., pl. 183. Gulbadan Bēgam, ed., pl. opp. p. 158; Kühnel, pl. 130, left. Gulbadan Bēgam, pp. 31, 138.

<sup>13</sup> Martin, pl. 104, 136. Pl. 32.

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Tamerlane. It was worn by the Dogra Rājputnīs of Jammū and Basohlī, who had adopted it early, until the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup>

The reign of Humāyūn was especially rich in foreign influences. They came not only from Persia, but even more from the Indian Muhammadans, the Pathans.<sup>2</sup> The hot climate itself must have influenced them in adopting those clothes which were so much lighter and better suited to the country. The Moghuls never favoured the high cap of the Pathans,<sup>3</sup> at least that of the time of Sher Shāh, with its high brim caught up in front. The alteration in the rest of their clothes was so much the more noticeable. The long-legged boot disappeared and was superseded by the slipper with stylish high heels.<sup>4</sup> The long trousers were superseded by a kind which stopped short a little beneath the knee.<sup>5</sup> The front of the jāmāh and the pēshvāz were turned back, and fastened in at the waist,<sup>6</sup> or, very often the whole lower part was cut away in front, so that only a kind of coat tail remained at the back.<sup>6</sup> Instead of this they very often wore a short jacket (nīmtanah) reaching only to the hips.<sup>7</sup>

At the same time the influence of the Hindus, especially the Rājputs, began to make itself felt. And though their clothes were yet not adopted by the Chagatai under Humāyūn, they were worn at court by the natives for a long time. Akbar's political and religious change of front must have marked the turning point. Of course he was never able to persuade the Turkish ladies of his zenāna, many of whom had belonged to Bābur, to adopt his innovations. As long as they lived they remained true to the customs of their mothers. But the Rājput princesses whom the Emperor married, lived with their servants in the same apartments with them, and their fashions gradually conquered the field as one after the other the old Turkish princesses died. The crested cap of the Chagatai, however, survived in later times as the uniform of the female guards of the harem who came from Turkestan, the Urdū Begīs, and some of the ladies' maids.<sup>8</sup> As regards men's clothing, Akbar's success was complete. Indeed, he even found himself obliged to check the eagerness of some of his sycophant grandees.<sup>9</sup> This was the period when the classical male dress of the Moghul empire was established, a costume which remained in general use until the beginning of the nineteenth century, and in certain remote states, even until the present time.

<sup>1</sup> Museum of Ethnology, Munich, 13-92-13.

<sup>2</sup> Pl. 22. Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, I, C 24342, p. 36a. Pādishāh Shēr Shāh.

<sup>3</sup> Pls. 14, 1, 27, 20, 34.

<sup>4</sup> Pls. 26, 1, 27, 20, 34.

<sup>5</sup> Pls. 26, 32, 27, 34.

<sup>6</sup> Pls. 14, 32, 20.

<sup>7</sup> Pls. 26, 27.

<sup>8</sup> Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, I, C 24347, p. 3a. Museum of Industrial Art, Leipzig, B. 11-17. Rüpan, ii, 1920, p. 7, fig. 2. Bernier, ed. Constable, 1891, fig. 4. Sattar Kheiri, *Indische Miniaturen*, pls. 28, 41, 43. Kühnel, loc. cit., pl. 140.

<sup>9</sup> At least Abu'l-Fazl's text (Blochmann, p. 88) on the "Takauchiya" can only be explained thus, when compared with the evidence of the miniatures. It seems that the Muslims too fastened it for some time under the left shoulder (Museum of Industrial Art, Leipzig: Illustration to the Hamzah-Nāmāh).



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The Indian peasants and manual workers still wore in those days the primitive dress of earlier times. "The Indian peasants and manual workers all go about naked. They put on a so-called langōtī, which is a piece of cloth hanging down about eighteen inches from the navel, as a covering for their nakedness. Below this cloth, which is worn for decency, is another strip of stuff. They fasten one end of it to the cord which holds the langōtī in front, they then draw the strip between the legs, take it up again, and fasten it to the cord which holds the langōtī behind. The women also have one rather like this, but longer. They draw one end of it round their hips, and throw the other over their heads."<sup>1</sup> A langōtī of this kind seems to be worn by the Rājput on p. 18b (pl. 36). It is rather longer, however, and comes round him like a scarf.<sup>2</sup> These scarfs lead us to another article of dress, the dhōtī. It also was a draped cloak made from an unsewn piece of cloth, rather longer than the langōtī, and drawn up at the back. The end which was drawn through the legs was fastened in front above the upper end of the cloak, and then hung loose like a scarf.<sup>3</sup> To this was added a cloth thrown loosely round the shoulders (dōpatta). The Rājputs themselves had probably changed from unsewn to sewn garments before the Muhammadan supremacy. At least the earliest monuments show sewn garments which are not of Muhammadan origin, for instance, a woman's dress which is sewn, the short jacket (chōlī), and a cap, probably taken from Central Asia, like those still worn by the Gaddis. In Akbar's day they had already been under Persian and Turkish influence for some time, and in court circles at least, the costume of the early days of Tamerlane's Empire had been adopted and developed independently. This is the takauchiyah,<sup>4</sup> a coat like the jāmāh, but fastened under the left arm.<sup>5</sup> Its lower hem reaching about the level of the knee, was cut on both sides into a number of points,<sup>6</sup> which was probably a fashionable imitation of a loosely draped langōtī. Over this was worn a wide, richly decorated scarf of stiff brocade. Below there came tight trousers reaching to the ankle. Another coat,<sup>7</sup> also going back to ancient Persian models, is of practically the same pattern, except that the opening for the neck is extended in a long V down to the waist, and decorated with lace. The braids which a century earlier had been generally used as a fastening, now hung loose in a kind of ornamental fringe.<sup>8</sup> The turban was of quite a different shape from that of the Moghuls, and probably came from the south. There, in the Shi'ite states of the Dekkan, there was a kind of pointed turban<sup>9</sup> in use, which, far removed from

<sup>1</sup> Bābur-nāmāh, p. 333.

<sup>2</sup> It is the most ancient Indian garment and already known to the sculptors of Barhut, Karli, and Sanchi.

<sup>3</sup> Pl. 39.

<sup>4</sup> Abu'l-Fazl, *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, i, 88.

<sup>5</sup> Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, ii, 122.

<sup>6</sup> Pls. 7, 34.

<sup>7</sup> Pl. 37.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.* The long cloak, which in Jahāngīr's time the Rājās of Kachh and Navānagar wore, is derived from Gujarāt and the Dekkan. Their dress scarcely differed from that of the other Rājputs.

<sup>9</sup> Kühnsl, *loc. cit.*, pl. 104. Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, I, C 24349, pl. 31a.

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Mongolian influences, had been evolved from Seljuk turbans familiar from Mesopotamian and Syrian miniatures and bronzes. The turban scarf is wound over a very small cap. It is gathered up at one end, which runs in a broad band from neck to crown, flattened in front, and brought into a rather pointed pad at the back. In this form, only flatter, the Indians of the time of Humāyūn<sup>1</sup> wore it, and the Rājputs at last made out of it a more or less flat cap (pagri)<sup>2</sup> very tightly bound and sewn together. Unlike the Turks they shaved their chins, leaving only the popularly called “mutton-chop” whiskers and a little drooping moustache.<sup>3</sup> We can also notice a chain with a few tassels hanging down from the girdle and looped over the cloak.<sup>4</sup>

Under Akbar this whole costume was adopted by the Moghul court. The takauchiyah was generally worn, yet the emperor insisted that the distinction between Hindus and Muhammadans should be preserved. The latter had the lower edge cut straight with the exception of the slit up both sides, and the fastening at the breast had to be, according to the custom of the Moghuls, under the right shoulder (Qabā).<sup>5</sup> The Indian Muhammadan cloak of Humāyūn’s days remained in use with the lower classes; with the addition of a kind of sailor collar it suited very well the taste of the times.<sup>6</sup> The shaving of the chin was introduced with the establishment of the Tauhid-i Ilāhī.<sup>7</sup> The turban was that of the Rājputs,<sup>8</sup> but later there appeared another kind, a more or less flat cap, which was fastened at the back by a number of brightly coloured cords.<sup>9</sup> Since the same turban appears in the miniatures of this time from Bokhārā,<sup>10</sup> it may seem doubtful whether it was brought from thence to India by the Uzbeks, or whether it was introduced there from India.

By Jahāngīr’s time the fashions had altered very little. The most important changes were in the turban and the foot wear. The extravagant high-heeled shoes went out of fashion, and were superseded by the light slippers (pāpōsh)<sup>11</sup> which in shape resembled the front part of the shoes hitherto usually worn. The points were decorated with small bunches of fringe.<sup>12</sup> The turban, however, remained under the influence of the Persian fashions of Shāh ‘Abbās the Great. Though its former shape in the main was retained, it was twisted very loosely and pushed somewhat over the right ear. As people had now found delight in rich colouring, the old plain coloured bands had with the new fashions become unsuitable; so they used multicoloured striped stuffs for turban scarfs.<sup>13</sup> In 1615 Jahāngīr introduced the use of ear-rings in fulfilment of a vow made during illness.<sup>14</sup> His portrait on p. 18<sup>15</sup> must therefore

<sup>1</sup> Pl. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Pls. 23, 2, 36, 37, 35.

<sup>3</sup> Abu’l-Fazl, *Ā’in-i-Akbarī*, i, 88. Pls. 21, 23, 2, 34.

<sup>4</sup> Badāonī, *Muntakhabāt-i-Tavārikh*, ii, 375 seq.

<sup>5</sup> Pls. 26, 23, 39.

<sup>6</sup> Frontispiece, and pls. 5, 7, 8, 23, 37.

<sup>7</sup> Pls. 6, 35, 38.

<sup>8</sup> Frontispiece.

<sup>9</sup> Pls. 36, 37.

<sup>10</sup> Pls. 35, 37.

<sup>11</sup> Pls. 23, 34.

<sup>12</sup> Pls. 25, 21, 23, 2, 24.

<sup>13</sup> Martin, loc. cit., pls. 146, 147.

<sup>14</sup> Pls. 23, 37, 35.

<sup>15</sup> *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, i, p. 267.

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date from before this year, for the emperor appears there without them. Otherwise he agrees very well with Sir Thomas Roe's description<sup>1</sup>: "On his head he wore a rich turbant with a plume of herne tops, not many but long; on one side hung a ruby unsett as bigg as a walnutt; on the other side a diamond as great; in the middle an emerald like a hart, much bigger. His shash was wreathed about with a chain of great pearle rubies and diamond drild. About his neck he carried a chaine of most excellent pearle three double, so great I never saw; at his elbowes armletts sett with diamonds; and on his wristes three rowes of severall sorts. His handes bare, but almost on every finger a ring; his gloves which were English stuck under his girdle; his coat of cloth of gold without sleeves upon a fine *semian* as thin as lawn; on his feet a pair of embroidered buskins with pearle, the toes sharp and turning up."

But Jahāngīr's reign is more important for the history of costume from the fact that at this time women's dress took the classical form which was worn throughout Hindostan with insignificant alterations until the beginning of the nineteenth century. It survives even at the present day in the little mountain state of Bashahr in the Western Himalayas.<sup>2</sup> Even under Bābur and Humāyūn we find women and girls in the Moghul miniatures who though wearing the costume of the contemporary Turkish women,<sup>3</sup> dress their hair and decorate their heads in a way peculiar to Indian women. The hair is not loose as with Muhammadan ladies, but parted and then twisted into a flat chignon, from which a few curls fall on to the neck. In the lobes of the ears hang karnphūls ("ear-flowers," i.e. silver ear-rings decorated with flowers), and there were similar decorations in the hair on either side of the parting. Round the neck hangs a narrow necklace, over the head a thin transparant sārī (cloth for the head). It is impossible to say at present who these women are, or where they come from. We shall return later to the subject of head-dress. We know more about the Indian women of the time of Akbar, the Kachhwāha-Rājputnīs of Ambēr. The numerous pictures of the Razm-Nāmah<sup>4</sup> especially, give us a very clear knowledge of them. They wore a long striped coat, as did all Hindu women, a chōlī (breast jacket) of very ancient pattern, that form so characteristic of the sixteenth century, which, unlike the short jacket introduced in the seventeenth century, fell down to the waist, leaving only a narrow strip between it and the coat. On the hair was a net of light mesh finished with little rosettes, karnphūls, sārī, and on the wrists and upper arms bracelets with great pompoms. Among the miniatures of our album there is a picture (p. 16b, pl. 2) from a Rājput Saga which we have unfortunately not been able to identify. The young woman<sup>5</sup> wears the characteristic ornaments of the

<sup>1</sup> Embassy to the court of the Grand Mogul, p. 322.

<sup>2</sup> Rūpam, 8, 1921, p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Pls. 25, 24.

<sup>4</sup> Th. H. Hendley, *Memorials of the Jeypore Exhibition*, 1883, vol. iv.

<sup>5</sup> So also the servant with the fan, pl. 15. C. Stanley Clarke, *Twelve Mogul Paintings of the School of Humayun, illustrating the romance of Amir Hamsah*, pls. 5 and 6, London, 1921.

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Kachhwāha-Rājputnīs, save that her coat is not that usually worn by women but a man's garment adapted to the sex of the wearer by shortening the sleeves to the length of those of the chōlī. The adoption of men's clothes by women is often found later on in Muhammadan India. The picture of the Rājputnī on p. 6a (above) shows rather a different fashion. She has the same kind of coat, but her head-dress is different; there is no hair-net but a little silver knob on the left of the parting. This decoration is worn by the Rājputnīs of Jammū and Kāngrā in the miniatures of the time of Jahāngīr<sup>1</sup> which come from that region. The shoes of the lady represented here have the characteristic fringe at the tip, and as her coat appears also in the miniatures from Jammū, she is probably a Dogrā noblewoman from that district. The costume is of more than local interest, for the Dogrā women in imitating a form of the chōlī<sup>2</sup> usual with them, changed the fringe of the collar into a lace collar. This new form of coat called kurtī supplanted all other forms of women's attire at the court of Jahāngīr, and, worn in combination with a simple chōlī, has become the only garment commonly worn in all parts of India.

The proposition so often stated of the unchangeable character of Oriental costume, can thus not be supported even as regards India, which is generally considered so conservative. It is a result partly of those hasty judgments that the foreigner forms while under the first strong impressions of an ensemble in which everything is different. It is certainly strengthened, however, by the too one-sided pre-occupation of the investigator with naturally conservative religious literature. As a matter of fact the civilization of the East is as much subject to change as our own was before the industrial revolution. And dress, in which sexual desire always compels men to seek ever fresh methods of attraction, was subject to the same continual change of fashion as with us. No doubt the separation of the sexes must have checked this process a little. But the development of local costume and the interaction of various streams of civilization brought about a constant change of type, and we are able to trace quite clearly the development of fashions, at least within a few decades. Certainly it is nothing but our inadequate knowledge of the material which hides the finer gradations from us. The least part of the value of such knowledge lies in the actual history of Indian costume. Much more important is the fact that it enables us to bring the rich unnamed, undated material of the Indian miniatures into line with general history and thus to enrich our knowledge of the history of civilization. Moreover, costume, as an expression of the period, presents a corrective to literary sources. Take for example in our case the relation of the Moghul court under Akbar

<sup>1</sup> H. Goetz, *Studien zur Rajputen-Malerei (Ostasiatische Zeitschrift)*, 1922-3, p. 46 sqq. For this custom at Jahāngīr's court see the servants in C. Stanley Clarke, *Thirty Mogul Paintings of the School of Jahangir in the Wantage bequest*, London, 1922, pl. 5, No. 7. Nūr-Jahān entertaining Jahāngīr and Prince Khurram in 1617.

<sup>2</sup> Prussian State Library, *Libr. pict. A.* II, pp. 25, 28.

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and Jahāngīr to the Rājput races, which was only put in the right light on the evidence of the miniatures.

A few words about weapons.

The history of the offensive and defensive weapons of India remains yet to be written. And if the material provided by our album is not already too great, it may be useful to later investigators. We find<sup>1</sup> :—

Shields : Large oval, round, covering the whole person, obviously made of leather (pl. 22).

Shields : Small and richly decorated, for archers (pl. 31).

Swords : Tulwār (pls. 25, 6, 31, 32, 27, 22, 35).

Daggers : Kattār (pls. 6, 20, 35, 37) ; Khanjār (pl. 27 ; see Egerton, 506) ; Khapwah (pls. 23, 2 ; see Egerton, pl. 1) ; Jamdhar (Yama-dhar) (pls. 35, 37 ; see Egerton, 344, 345). The Jamdhar seems, judging from miniatures, to have been specially popular in the time of Jahāngīr.

Bows : Turkish bows (pl. 31 ; see Egerton, pl. 1). A cross bow with a similar bow and a stirrup to pull against, as above. Maktah, a simple Rājput bow (pl. 36).

Fire-arms : A tinderbox the size of a pistol used as a hand weapon. This does not seem to be a weapon of attack but rather a kind of fire producer of the time of Bābur (pl. 31 and 3). Guns are sometimes to be seen (pls. 27, 24). It must be noticed that fire-arms were introduced into India from Turkey and Europe at the beginning of the sixteenth century. They only became general weapons of war under Shāh Jahān. As a result of their novelty European marksmen were used as mercenaries under the first emperors, and were magnificently paid.

In Bābur's time guns were a complete novelty, and it should be noticed that in the picture of the sea-fight dating from the time of Bābur, only Turkish bows and cross bows and a primitive kind of fire producer were known. Under Humāyūn muskets as well as cannons were known, but they were still a costly luxury. The fact that pls. 27 and 24 show examples of these earliest Indian fire-arms makes them all the more valuable. They correspond to those guns called toradār and portrayed in another place.<sup>2</sup> The handle of one of the muskets represents a hunting scene in fine relief.

<sup>1</sup> See W. Egerton, *An illustrated handbook of Indian Arms in the India Museum, S. Kensington*, London, 1880.

<sup>2</sup> See Egerton, 678, and Demmin, *Die Kriegswaffen*, p. 960, Gera, 1891.

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THE short description of the album given in a previous chapter has already informed the reader as to its character and the variety of its contents. Here, as far as our knowledge of the Muhammadan miniature painting allows, we shall attempt to consider these things from the point of view of the bibliophile and art critic.

The existing binding of the book dates only from its acquisition for a European library ; the bookbinder had the pages lying before him in large cartons, and bound the whole thing up into a magnificent folio. We do not know whether he found the material he was to bind already in book form, or in loose leaves ; but in either case we must reckon with the possibility that the whole contents of the original album was not taken over. We have so much the more reason for thinking this in that two leaves which certainly belonged to our series originally<sup>1</sup> are known to be now in private possession in Paris (ill. pp. 37, 39). We must not therefore measure the limits of the work made for the Emperor Jahāngīr by what is bound up in the Prussian State Library. We must emphasize the fact, however, that the material which we have here, as even a superficial examination shows, does all belong together, and that no part of it was drawn from another source. A classification of the material which we are now going to consider more closely is suggested naturally by the contrast of the border pictures and those in the centre. The latter were either pasted in before the execution of the former, or stuck on to the carton after, and embrace miniatures, engravings, and specimens of writing. We will first consider the borders, which are to some extent uniform in style and technique, and then examine in more detail the various kinds of centre pictures.

## I THE BORDER PAINTINGS

Gold painting for border decorations was first introduced in the time of the Timurides, that is in the fifteenth century, in manuscripts of a remarkable calligraphy in western Turkestan. In the sixteenth century the technique seems to have extended from Bokhara into various Persian centres. It spread thence to India, where it became general, not only as a costly embellishment for manuscripts, but also as a decoration for the sheets of the albums in which miniatures and specimens of writing were collected. They were generally contented with ornamenting the brightly coloured border with decorative designs. These were for the most part confined to plants, though sometimes fighting and hunting animals were interspersed.

<sup>1</sup> See Marteau-Véver, *Les miniatures persanes*, pls. 167-8, Paris, 1913.

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Occasionally they took on the character of fantastic rocky landscapes with trees and bushes. All these kinds are to be found in our album, but the painters have not contented themselves with thus decorating the border, but they have inserted everywhere little birds in bright colours, very realistic, flying or perched on a twig, wherever a gap in the design makes it possible to fit them in. In other cases they have gone further and emphasized some of the ornamental subsidiary motifs in more elaborate gold and with coloured outlines, or else have left empty spaces in which large birds or mythological animals were executed in bright colours (e.g. p. 8a, pl. 42).

But the chief attraction of our book is formed by those pages in which the landscape work in gold Indian ink serves merely as a background for figure compositions of extraordinary complexity, taken partly from life, partly invented, or conventionalized from foreign pictures. From a technical point of view it is important to remember that the master to whom these subjects were given first sketched them lightly on to the empty border in carefully spaced distribution. The trees, bushes, and rocks, obviously subordinate, were added by the illuminator, and brought into connection with the figures in the foreground, and only then the colouring of the latter was brought to completion. They are generally in light gouache, only distinguished from the surrounding sober gold background by outlining and shading. Where brighter effect was aimed at they preferred to paint with gold, because they feared, and rightly, that by the extended use of body colour the motif would become too heavy and glaring, and the æsthetic balance of the whole would be destroyed. In some cases (see pls. 23, 24, 25, colour pls. 12-14) they used the "gold on gold" painted miniatures in which they aimed at various metallic tints by means of an under-tone of green, red, or yellow. Face and hands are worked up to the highest individuality in skilful and varying shades of flesh-tints. In one case (pl. 25) the groups are not just painted on the border, but surrounded by medallions, and thus given a kind of decorative unity. We have already discussed, in our chapter on the social background, the rich treasure of scenes and types which the subjects of these pictures offer to the student. From the point of view of the history of art these subjects are not very important, because they are repeated everywhere throughout the whole Moghul school, and only emphasize, what we know from the material hitherto accessible, that the fundamental idea of a sound realism with a tinge of romanticism led the artists to take events from daily life, with a preference for themes of a typical character.

More important for us are the plagiarisms from European engravings, which can be traced in some of their borders, and are not limited to professedly Christian themes but sometimes extend to apparently autochthonous subjects. A master in whom our Moghul painters were specially interested was Albert Dürer. They probably knew nothing about him and his importance, and it is not even certain that they had







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seen original examples of his engravings and woodcuts. Perhaps they learnt about him only from copies of engravings as they were produced in great numbers about 1600 by imitators from Antwerp. Several of these original sheets by Galle, Wierix, and Sadeler (see below) have been pasted into our album. It speaks so much the more for their understanding and their taste that they selected these lively engravings as models from the wealth of material which probably lay at their disposal. P. 5a (pl. 30) shows several well-known subjects from Durer, especially the Virgin under the tree of 1513<sup>1</sup> which was copied almost exactly, even the details of the rich Gothic folds and the expression of Mother and Child hardly being altered (v. p. 41). Near them on the left there stands a man with a holy book and hour-glass in his hand, who appears as the Moorish king in the foreground on the left, in the Adoration of the Magi, in the woodcut series of the life of the Virgin. In our album he is very much conventionalized and probably copied at second-hand, but the whole expression as well as many little details is quite unmistakable. Below this group there is a saint seen from behind, rather to the left, who can certainly be identified with Dürer's Peter healing a cripple (v. p. 41). No less exactly copied is a John the Baptist on the lower border from a Crucifixion group, where, with his head a little different, he appears turning in the opposite direction (v. p. 41). In one of the sheets in the Marteau collection mentioned above, which belonged at one time to our album, we find the well-known standard bearer,<sup>2</sup> treated with greater freedom, but still closely following the Durer, while in other places we can at least conjecture similar resemblances.<sup>3</sup> The two pairs of peasants on p. 11b (pl. 29) both originate from the well-known calender which Hans Sebald Beham engraved in several series. They resemble most the double pictures of 1546, Nos. 9 and 10 (Harvest month and Wine month) (Pauli 181; v. p. 47). The position is identical, and it is only in details, as the head-dress of one of the women, or the lance which one of the peasants holds (instead of the flail of Beham), that insignificant differences can be found. A man in a cap with flap and brim, running with raised arm, on p. 4a, is probably also drawn from the same source.

In other cases European subjects are treated more freely, so that it is difficult to trace the exact source; for instance, on p. 4a, there are several Christian figures, partly Indianized and brought together at random, among others a boy in a curious jacket painting a Madonna; on p. 6a, a Christian woman with a cross in her hand with a child running before her; on p. 9a, a girl singing from a book written in an unintelligible Greek text, while another plays the mandoline, both obviously freely adapted, while a boy with a lifted cross bears a closer resemblance to an engraving. It would be difficult to state the exact original of the St. Anthony with the Christ

<sup>1</sup> Engraved by John Wierix (Alvin 625).

<sup>2</sup> Engraved by Wierix (Alvin 1580 I).

<sup>3</sup> See Marteau Véver, pl. 179.

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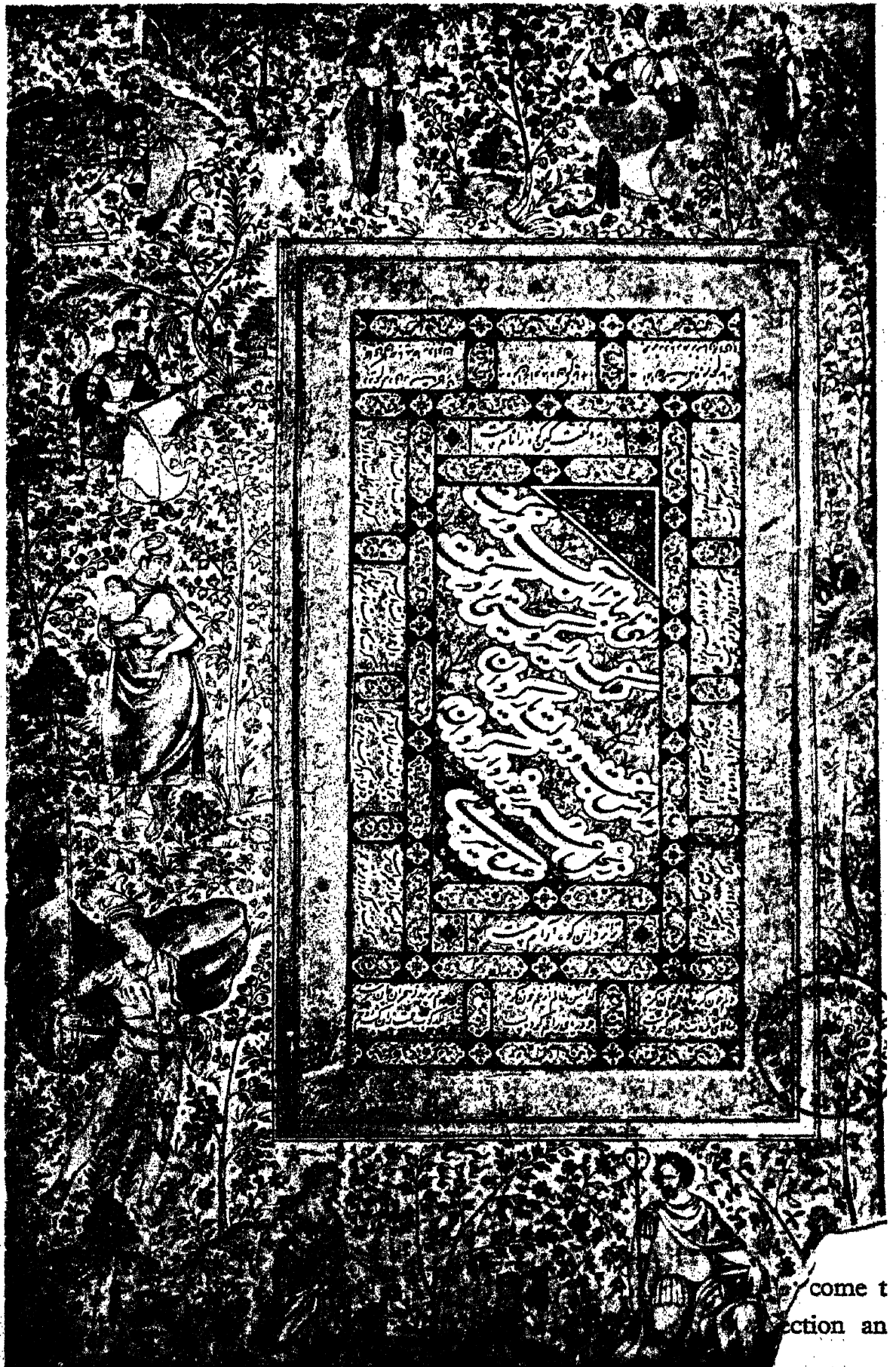
Child on the page with the Dürers already mentioned (pl. 30). On p. 11b a Madonna at the top in the centre is seated on a throne of Indian design with the Infant standing before her nude (with a drawing of a little pig introduced probably in ridicule). Before her on the left stands a European in a costume half-Western and half-Oriental with a book and sword, on the right a boy in a short coat holding open a book, a group to which we can hardly believe the artist devoted much original thought. The organ-group on p. 1a (pl. 28)—the player on the left, and the blower on the right of an instrument decorated with an angel and a saint—has been yet more freely adapted. It has a counterpart in what is a typical Indian miniature of the end of the sixteenth century, which represents Plato as tamer of wild animals (playing the organ).<sup>1</sup> Finally, there are a certain number of figures apparently purely Indian and taken from the life, but in reality skilfully disguised plagiarisms from European engravings. This is shown especially in certain groupings which appear natural enough but whose invention can better be explained by the problems of Western art. It is enough to mention here the various hunting scenes on p. 15b (pl. 27), probably all of which can be proved by careful investigation to have been borrowed from late Flemish pictures. One of these can be traced, for example, to one of the landscape pictures after R. Savery engraved by Egidius Sadeler at the beginning of the seventeenth century. We shall have to refer to these Western drawings again when we come to the study of the centre pictures, so in order to keep to the subject of the border pictures, we will now only try to answer the most important critical question which lies before us: how many masters were at work here, and are their names known?

Anyone who has ever attempted to grasp and separate the individual styles of the Indian miniature painters will at once understand the difficulties which attend an attempt to distinguish the hands of various artists in a work obviously belonging to one generation and to one particular school. The individual note is always very little prominent in the work of the Moghul artists. The standard for them was always set by the general requirements of a court picture. Here, quite apart from abject dependence on the wishes and commands of the imperial patron, success depended less on the efforts of individuals to state and solve artistic problems than on their willing subordination to the prevailing style of the period, and a general determination to achieve a good average piece of work.<sup>2</sup> Technical dexterity and not richness of invention or maturity of composition brought eminence in the profession, and the high standard of virtuosity produced plagiarists and compilers rather than original geniuses. We must therefore not be afraid to connect famous names with open imitations if we have the necessary data for the imputation.

Our border pictures, which in their perfection stand almost alone in Indian

<sup>1</sup> Drawn by Madhava. See Martin, *The Miniature painting, etc.*, pl. 181.

<sup>2</sup> See Kühnel, *Miniaturmal. im islam. Orient*, p. 41.



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miniature painting,<sup>1</sup> can be divided into several groups, each of which shows certain characteristics which occur in all the pictures belonging to it. They are scattered without any particular order throughout the whole volume, and include the front as well as the reverse sides of pages, so that there can be no doubt about the simultaneous collaboration of different hands.

The most numerous is the series of border paintings in which large prominent single figures are outlined in light colours on a thin gold background. The faces are not always very carefully drawn, and never shaded, while occasionally European subjects freely adapted from engravings are interspersed. To this class belong pp. 1a, 6a, 7a, 9a, 10a, 11b, 14b, 17a, 21b, 22a, 25b (pls. 28, 26, 15, 29, 19, 14). The last-named page bears (on the book of a seated man of learning) the signature which we have already mentioned (see pl. 38) of Gōvardhan, and as we have no reason to doubt its authenticity, we can recognize in him the painter of these eleven border pictures. Another group, pp. 3a, 8b, 13b, 15b, 18a, 20b (pls. 21, 19, 27, 20), are obviously all from the same hand. In this the figures are smaller, but in larger groups, or connected with one another. There is more detail in the heads and greater vivacity in their attitudes, while Western influences are either entirely avoided or more satisfactorily Indianized. One of these (pl. 38) is unmistakably signed Balchand (see above), and we must assume that he was responsible for the whole series. He was perhaps also concerned in a third group comprising pp. 2b, 12b, 19a, 24a (pls. 25, 12, 23, 14, 24, 13). This is very much like the previous one in details of the drawing, but it differs from it technically in the use of variously tinted gold surfaces in the figures.

The saints copied from Dürer on p. 5a, as well as the Christian drawings on p. 4a, must come from a third, or fourth, hand, probably a pupil of Gōvardhan. He may also have painted the borders of pp. 16a and 20a (pl. 22), which are too slight in quality and too coarse in technique for the master. We cannot undertake to say whether one of the artist's names which appear in the portraits among the middle pictures would be relevant here, for the great difference of the subject does not leave sufficient analogy for a purely hypothetical parallel. For the same reason we are not in a position to compare the borders executed by Gōvardhan with the coloured pictures signed by him here (pl. 36) and elsewhere, but must content ourselves with the statement that there is a general resemblance in the method of handling the brush, and no convincing evidence to the contrary.

We must take into consideration the work of another master when we come to the many gay-coloured birds which have been observed with such affection and

<sup>1</sup> A series of pictures in which scholars and poets in a sitting posture reading or meditating are portrayed in gouache on a gold background of foliage, now or formerly in the possession partly of M. Léonce Rosenberg in Paris (see Marteau Véver, loc. cit., p. 169), partly of Herr M. v. Nemes in Munich (see *Meisterwerke Moh. Kunst*, pl. 37r, Munich, 1912). See also the border painting of the Akbar Nāmah in London (Martin, loc. cit., pls. 209-10).

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reproduced with such extraordinary accuracy that any ornithologist can easily recognize their species. We should not hesitate to ascribe them as the work of Ustād Mansūr, the Emperor Jahāngīr's famous bird painter, if we had other material for comparison than the works of his which are known at present, and which always represent animals of large size; and if other masters (Manōshahr, Muhammad Nādir Samarqandī, etc.) had not specialized in the same subject.

As regards the gold paintings which serve the figures as a uniform but infinitely varied background, and in many pages with their rich ornamentation form the only decoration for the borders, they are doubtless all the work of a single very clever illuminator, who may possibly have had his equal in Persia, but certainly not in India.<sup>1</sup>

The various artists concerned in these decorations must have done their work in a comparatively short time, probably at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Though there is so much doubt as to the number of artists taking part in the work, yet the whole performance is a typical example of the school of Jahāngīr, and the specific mention of the name of the Emperor in the various marginal notes confirms the fact.

## 2 THE MINIATURES

As the border paintings come as it were from one source, and from the hands of a few contemporary artists, so on the contrary the pictures in the centre represent all phases of Indian Moghul painting, from the beginning to its highest development.

From a purely technical point of view it is important to notice that they are generally painted in body-colour on very thin paper, and that as they did not generally take up enough room in the space allotted to them, after they were stuck in they were sometimes completed by additional paintings often above and below, and sometimes at the side. These additions can easily be detected with very little experience. Moreover, especially with the portraits, several little pictures were pasted together in groups of two, or at most four, and not very successfully connected with each other by transitional work. In our reproductions they have been cut up and as far as possible separated from the material which was added.

Of the pages of older date a certain number are obviously taken from earlier albums or manuscripts. On p. 9b, for example, this is proved by an old strip from a border which can be seen through one of the figures. The fact that some of the colours have cracked or become torn is also a sign of its greater age. Besides this we have to reckon with later works executed in an archaic style, but even these do not seem to have been painted straight on to the page either, but to have been pasted in. In one case (pl. 10) the painting has been done on to fine linen, a favourite practice

<sup>1</sup> See the border paintings in the Akber Nāmā belonging to Mr. B. Quaritch Martin, pl. 209-10.



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in the sixteenth century, especially in the large works of the Hamza-Nāmāh, but otherwise unusual.<sup>1</sup>

In order to appreciate from a critical point of view the material before us, we will divide it into three groups with which we will deal in order: Pictures under Persian influence, pictures of a national Indian character, and imitations of European originals.

We will consider in the first place p. 19b, which by a signature on the lower part of the decoration claims to be the work of the famous master Bihzād. The signature is doubtless false, for we have here a work obviously much later in style and costume, and typically Indian in its execution. The composition may date from the latter end of the Herat school, and the fact that one of the figures encroaches on the bordering arabesque cartouche, probably means that the page was originally merely a drawing, and only coloured after it had been stuck in. But the misuse of the name Bihzād if so common in Oriental miniatures about the sixteenth century that this mystification is in itself no cause for the slightest surprise. If the same signature were to appear in two other miniatures in our album we should have more grounds for wondering whether we ought to doubt them. These are pp. 11a and 12a. The extremely finished composition of the Sea-fight (pl. 31 and coloured detail pl. 3), its effective colouring, and above all its vivacity, and the strong differentiation in type, bearing, and dress of the many figures, strongly remind us of the great reformer of Persian painting, and it is extremely probable that the picture was directly inspired by him.<sup>2</sup> It cannot have been actually executed by him, for the cold colour tones (in spite of their wide range) and the presence of Indian heads among the boatmen go decidedly against this. We have, moreover, a certain very small number of kindred works which are attributed on very strong grounds to the school of Bābur, i.e. the earliest epoch of Indian miniature painting (about 1520-35). The Persian influence of the style of Bihzād is characteristic of this school, though it may have come under influences from Bokhara rather than from Herat.

The other sheet, p. 11a (pl. 33), represents a prince resting. We have, above, identified him with Shah Ismail. At the first glance this picture hardly seems to belong to the same spiritual type, but a closer inspection shows that it has a strong resemblance to the work of the "Persian Raphael". The treatment of the landscape in which the dark green of the turf is effectively contrasted with the tones of the plants and the trees is very significant, while most of the figures also can be traced to the works of Bihzād. Those on the extreme right and left are considerably later, and in their purely Indian character stand out strongly from the rest. It is clear from the fact that the centre of the composition is far to the left that this is the right-

<sup>1</sup> See Stanley Clarke, *Indian Drawings: Twelve Moghul Paintings of the School of Humāyūn* (Victoria and Albert Museum), portfolio 1, 1922.

<sup>2</sup> See Kuhnel, *Miniaturemal. im islam. Orient*, pls. 48-52.

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hand half of a double picture ; Bihzād affected these as no other master, and it is very likely that we have here a copy of one of his works. Yet another picture shows the same influence (p. 9b) ; the few and comparatively large figures can be traced back to Bihzād through one of the schools deriving from him which were very prolific in the sixteenth century. The execution here as on p. 11a is doubtless by the hand of an Indian artist.

We can find another phase of Persian painting which was held in great esteem at the Moghul court under Humāyūn in the scene which portrays the emperor with his brother Hindal and a large suite resting in the mountains (pl. 32, coloured detail on pl. 4). The landscape is formed of fantastically cleft rocks, dotted with flowering trees, while the garments of the figures are in many cases decorated with many minute sprays of flowers. Both these peculiarities, among other details, point to the period of Shāh Tahmāsp (about 1530-40), and especially to the style which dating from Āgā Mirāk was developed by 'Abdallāh the gilder and other kindred masters.<sup>1</sup> The Indian workmanship is proved by the peculiar costumes which were only worn for a short time at the court of Humāyūn (see above). The whole effect in the black and white reproduction is much less pleasing than in the original, where the detail of the rocks is softened by the variety of the colour tones and does not stand out nearly so sharply (see pl. 4).

In the second half of the sixteenth century in the reign of the Emperor Akbar, Indian book painting entered upon a new, frankly national course. We cannot at present say for certain from what native source it was derived, that it was able to free itself so quickly from the Persian style ; to all appearances the technical knowledge and artistic ideas of the old Hindu wall paintings had remained current in the Rājput district. They were introduced at the Moghul court by masters who were called thence and their influence was extended by the Emperor who was always anxious to foster and preserve Indian civilization. To this was added the familiarity with the works of European painting and engraving which existed at that time, and was very important, especially as regards composition, perspective, and realistic expression. In the portrait of an unknown man our album shows (pl. 9) how national influences blended with Persian ideas : the subject of a man portrayed with a flower and a book in his hand represents exactly the theory which Sultan Muhammad, the chief painter of Tebriz, had established in his academy, while the costume and the un-Persian background of little clusters of realistic flowering shrubs show clearly the attempts at independence of the school of Akbar.<sup>2</sup>

We find the latter in its full maturity and independence in a second picture of large size (pl. 2), representing the murder of a man, whether historical or legendary

<sup>1</sup> See Kühnel, loc. cit., pls. 60, 70.

<sup>2</sup> Moreover, this page is itself to be ascribed not to an original work of the middle of the sixteenth century but to a later copy.

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we have not been able to find out. For sheer horror the incident leaves nothing to be desired. In the lower scene the victim's head is being screwed off in the most gruesome manner in the presence of a lady who looks on with calm interest, while in the upper scene we are shown how the executioner or murderer has thrown the bloody head from a turret of the house amongst the horrified people crowding below. The dramatic subject gave the painter the opportunity to display his special gift for expressive movement and effective grouping. It would not be easy to find such an astonishing wealth of speaking gestures combined even among European works of art. The excitement of the spectators as they stand crowded in a half ellipse is even more emphasized by the colour tones reverberating through each other in sharp brightness. The whole brilliant range of the school of Akbar seems here exceeded. The artist Basāwan has painted a very moving scene quite in the same spirit—mourning for the dead.<sup>1</sup> It also is divided into two halves, but the colouring is more subdued. The famous Daswanth, who was discovered and very highly valued by Akbar, painted the same kind of emotional picture scenes; one of the compositions of the Razm-Nāmah doubtless lay before our artist, who borrowed from it the figures of the victim and the woman standing by and some other details.<sup>2</sup> For the portrayal of the excited onlookers he seems to have modelled himself closely on Rāmdās, who has painted in the same showy work a number of lively gesticulating figures, in the picture of a group of musicians, several of whom seem to occur again here.<sup>3</sup> Such borrowings seem to show that we have here the work of a gifted artist of the second generation of the time of Akbar, who with great ability and a surer taste drew the final conclusions from the premises of his teachers, and who probably lived on into the time of Jahāngīr. For the treatment of the landscape in the background and certain details in the more or less fantastic architecture make it hardly possible for the picture to have been painted before 1600.

With the exception of scenes from Durbars and similar court festivals large compositions were apparently very much neglected in the time of Jahāngīr. For if we consider the abundant material which survives from this time which was so fruitful in artistic production, we shall find several yawning gaps. Here, too, our album gives some most desirable information in one of its liveliest pictures which has for its subject the scene before a city gate (pl. 1). We will leave the reader to lose himself amid the wealth of detail of the picture. It needs no comment because it is all drawn from daily life, and in spite of its Oriental character is intelligible to Western eyes without explanation. We will only attempt to disentangle the various kinds of style here brought together. Persian influence is shown in the composition of the picture,

<sup>1</sup> In the Museum of Industrial Art, Leipzig (see Kühnel, loc. cit., pl. 108).

<sup>2</sup> See Hendley's *Memorial of the Jeyapore Exhibition*, vol. iv, pl. 68. The scene from the Sauptika Parva—how Ashvatthama crushed the Drishtadyumna—is there portrayed. This event can have nothing to do with the picture in our album. Moreover, the pattern of the ornament on the shield of the murderer seems to have been copied from the page in the Razm-Nāmah.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, pl. 83.

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with its dominating tower and the landscape in the background and the foreground, as well as in the grouping of the figures. The trees and rocks can be traced to the work of Bihzād, while masters such as Ustād Muhammadi<sup>1</sup> can be held responsible for different scenes. On the other hand, the form and brightness of the drapery clearly shows the influence of the school of Akbar, and the Indian origin is unmistakable throughout in the types represented. The combination of the various elements into a harmonious whole is, however, unmistakably the work of a master of Jahāngīr's studio, where delight in the representation of nature and of daily life was specially encouraged. In paintings like the one before us they found it suited them to borrow from the Persian classics, whose realistic art with its light sentimental touch, exactly fitted in with the taste of the time.

The page is dated 1617 in an inscription over the second gate, from which it can also be concluded that it was made for the library of the emperor himself (see above). Unfortunately the name of the artist is unknown, and the technical characteristics are not sufficiently clear to establish beyond doubt whether one of the painters was employed here whose names are mentioned in the border paintings and the miniature portraits. Among the latter we find the following names :—

1. Gōvardhan (p. 23a, pl. 36). The picture from his hand is on a neutral brownish background and the surrounding writing (see above) is so worded that we could believe it was by his own hand, even if it did not coincide quite with the naturally much smaller characters in the border painting ascribed to him<sup>2</sup> (pl. 38). But the length of the text and the way in which it is put on are both unusual, and we cannot assume that a miniature painter spoilt his work for no reason, by an extraordinary and somewhat unsightly signature. It seems probable that the page originally bore only the short signature which is complete in itself,<sup>3</sup> and which, moreover, was not added by the painter himself, but may have originated with one of the court officials responsible for the compilation of the album. Anyhow the further statements were added later and probably at the imperial command. In these circumstances it would be very rash to attribute to Gōvardhan any other of the pictures bearing signatures merely on the ground of identical handwriting. There are certainly strong resemblances both in technique and in the script, but they occur also on pages which are the authentic work of another artist.

2. Bishndās (p. 22b, pl. 35). In both the pictures with bright green backgrounds which claim him as artist, the signature is questionable; less so with Bahādur Khān, where the artist's name forms part of the writing at the side, than in

<sup>1</sup> See his painting of country-life dated 578 (Kuhnel, loc. cit., pl. 65).

<sup>2</sup> This is especially important for us because it gives his hitherto unknown surname, and emphasizes his close dependence on Jahāngīr. A signed portrait in Martin, loc. cit., pl. 195, proves that he was still at work under Shāh Jahān.

<sup>3</sup> From the beginning of the text to the mention of the year of the Emperor's reign. This would doubtless not have been written above the master's name but beside it, if the next words ought to have followed.





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the other where it was obviously added later by another hand on the right at the top. There is, however, no reason to doubt the correctness of its statement as to the authorship. We have considered in the first chapter three other works partly coming from Bishndās.<sup>1</sup>

3. Manōhar (p. 23a, pl. 36) on a dark-green background. The signature written in a wavering hand and not easy to read is not on our picture itself, but on the decoration at the bottom, and must have been added after it had been pasted into the album. This fact and comparison with the other works signed by Manōhar, leads us to suspect that if it is authentic it was added by another hand, a different one, of course, from the other signatures. Amongst other things he painted Jahāngīr with his followers under a baldachin in the open air, while some one pours out his wine.<sup>2</sup> A composition signed by him in a manuscript of Nizāmī<sup>3</sup> leads us to attribute to him another unsigned composition in our album. This is the elephant tamer (pl. 34), in which the landscape is very strongly coloured. The broad treatment of the foliage in the luxuriant tree tops is contrasted with the minuteness of the execution of the architectural details in the group of buildings which leads the eye out into the distance. We find almost the same thing in the page of the Nizāmī MS. referred to, and this resemblance doubtless arises from the traditions of the one school. Here as there the figures are entirely in the tradition of the time of Akbar, though Manōhar lived on into the reign of Shāh Jahān.

4. Nādir az-Zamān (p. 23a, pl. 37). In this sheet there is no doubt that the discreet unobtrusive signature comes from the hand of the miniature painter himself. At the present time no other work of his is known for certain, but as we have already noticed, he enjoyed the special favour of Jahāngīr (see p. 9). It is not unlikely that the frontispiece for his memoirs of which the emperor makes such flattering mention is to be found in the great masterly Durbar scene in the Boston Museum.<sup>4</sup>

5. Manōshahr (also spelt Minūshihr; p. 18b, pl. 37). The background and foreground are rather bright and richly coloured. The tiny, hardly noticeable signature is low down on the left in the grass, and its authenticity calls for no comment. A picture of a prince of the year 1045 H. (A.D. 1635) is famous as the masterpiece of Manōshahr. A drawing of an owl surrounded by birds also bears his name.<sup>5</sup> He seems, moreover, to have painted a miniature for a manuscript dated 1664; if it was actually as late as this and not painted earlier but only put in at that time, it means that his work in our album must have been done in his youth. For reasons of style we claim him for our portrait of Jahāngīr (frontispiece) more than any other artist.

<sup>1</sup> Stanley Clarke, *Indian Drawings : Thirty Moghul Paintings of the School of Jahangir*, portfolio ii, 1922; and Binyon and Arnold, loc. cit., pl. iv.

<sup>2</sup> Coloured in Binyon and Arnold.

<sup>3</sup> Martin, loc. cit., pl. 178.

<sup>4</sup> See Kühnel, loc. cit., pl. 109; also Martin, loc. cit.; Schulz, loc. cit., etc.

<sup>5</sup> See Martin, loc. cit., p. 125, pl. 164.



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6. Kēshavadās (p. 25a, pl. 39). The old man is not in an ordinary portrait style, but more like a genre picture painted from the life with a rocky landscape as background. For the text of the scroll which mentions Kēshavadās as the painter of this sheet, see above, p. 7, the translation of Albr. Weber. Signatures in Sanskrit were very rare with the Hindu painters at the Moghul court, and it happens that our album contains another picture, a Madonna by the same artist (p. 2a, pl. 42), which is stated to be his work in an Arabic script on the lower part of the pitcher. We shall speak of this again later.

The signature of another artist appears in the picture of Ihtimām Khān (p. 25a), but it is very much defaced and impossible now to decipher.

The far-reaching resemblance in style between portraits by different artists on the one hand, and the great difference between two works of the same artist, for instance, Kēshavadās, on the other, naturally make it impossible to attempt to attribute unsigned material to the known masters. We are not in a position to make a reasonable hypothesis for the excellent portraits of two painters on p. 21a (pl. 39). Both the unknown artists are obviously drawn from life. One of them is painting a hunting scene, and the other, who wears pince-nez, a Madonna.<sup>1</sup>

We miss among the signatures several masters who were famous at court in the time of Jahāngīr. We have mentioned one of them in connection with the border paintings, and we must consider him again now that we come to the question of the authorship of the charming picture of the two magpies (pl. 10). It is very probably the work of the famous Mansūr who was unequalled as a bird painter, and several of whose signed works are still in existence, one of them dated 1624 with a note in the Emperor's own handwriting.<sup>2</sup> In the faithful reproduction of animals, specially in the exact colouring of plumage, they are like our sheet, but this excels them in respect of the landscape in which the pair of birds are so happily placed. The monotony of the pinkish rocks in front is cleverly relieved by the flowing spring and the tufts of flowers, while the flat surface of the gold background is effectively broken by the bold springing palms and the gnarled pine. It reminds one of the Dutch specialist painters of the seventeenth century, who portrayed subjects from the animal kingdom with equal knowledge, but their paintings are seldom so full of feeling as this one from India.

As regards the representations of hermit life, in so far as they are of purely Indian character (see pl. 40, I), we will only say here that they are probably not by Muhammadan but Hindu artists. They are taken from traditions of earlier days which were still living in the Rājput states, though in technical details their connection with the Moghul court is obvious. Others of these pictures show clear traces of European influence, although we are unable to give the exact original (pls. 10 and 11).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the painting of Riyā 'Abbāsi by his pupil, Mu'īn. Martin, loc. cit., fig. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Brit. Mus. Or. 3714 and 4615. See Marteau-Véver, loc. cit., pls. 176-8; Martin, loc. cit., p. 131, pls. 219-220.

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This is not always possible even with the Christian subjects which are treated in several of the centre pictures. The Madonna of Kēsavadas (pl. 42), seated rather unsteadily under a tree at a table with her book and needlework before her, is certainly derived from an engraving of the end of the sixteenth century. In view of the not very characteristic subject however, it would be difficult to identify more closely the Western studio from which the rather insignificant original was taken. In a second sheet which is pasted in below this, the same subject is treated with a few differences; the style of the drawing makes it possible that there was another artist at work here. The miniature on p. 10b (pl. 41) comes obviously from a representation of the women and angels at the tomb of Christ. The composition, however, has been completely altered: the figures on the right obviously come from another source and are very unsuitably placed here, while the landscape is entirely suited to Indian feeling.

A third sheet (p. 1b, pl. 41) in its completely finished and un-Oriental character is obviously not merely an adaptation but an exact copy of a Western original, and we are in the happy position of being able to identify this. It was an engraving of Raphael Sadeler after J. Rottenhamer of the year 1601 (v. p. 47) which was taken over without any other changes than the simplification of the landscape. The brush of the Indian betrays itself most clearly in the treatment of the middle distance. He cannot restrain himself here from splitting up the hills according to his custom into little ridges; the rich grass in the foreground on the other hand was only painted later. Very surprising to one who knows European painting is the colouring of the picture, which according to our ideas is exactly right. It corresponds to the conception of the original painting which we should have formed from looking at the engraving copied from it. Doubtless the Indian copyist had only the latter before him, and had he relied on his imagination he would have produced a colouring perhaps more attractive but hardly so correct in our eyes. He must, therefore, have had some reliable source of information as to which colours to put on to the various parts. This came most probably through the Jesuits, to whom the Moghul court owed their knowledge of European engraving in the first instance, and it so happens that we possess an account which proves that they gave oral instructions for dealing with uncoloured sacred pictures (see Appendix I, p. 56).

## 3 ENGRAVINGS AND SPECIMENS OF WRITING

Proofs of engravings pasted into Indian albums are not uncommon. Obviously they exaggerated their importance and regarded them not as prints but as original designs whose minute line work they repeatedly tried to imitate. With a fuller knowledge of the process of engraving they would hardly have given these specimens of European art a place of honour among miniatures by famous Indian masters, and have heightened their effect still more by ostentatious border paintings. The

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circumstance that in our collection they occupy a middle place between book paintings and specimens of writing, that they appear next to the latter and in one case (p. 9a) in between them, seems to make it probable that they were taken for quill drawings, and that for that reason they chose them to accompany the Oriental calligrapher's work. That there was little understanding of their real character is proved by the fact that they were all cut close, and stuck in without any margin, though generally with the signature, usually one large engraving with two smaller ones above.

The engravers who are represented here all belong more or less closely to the Antwerp school, which was at the height of its productiveness towards the end of the sixteenth century, and spread its engravings broadcast. The artists were generally themselves both publishers and tradesmen, and nothing is more likely than that the Portuguese Jesuits, along with their usual devotional little pictures, should have taken sheets with them which seemed suitable material for propaganda in India. In our discussion of the border pictures we have already considered the possibility that the subjects from Durer and Beham were not taken from the originals, but from engravings of the brothers Wierix, for example, which were very popular about 1600, and were brought to the market with great success.

The Holy Family on a sea voyage (p. 7b) and the Massacre of the Innocents (p. 3a) after M. de Vos were engraved by Joh. Sadeler, who was not, it is true, residing at Antwerp, but was a member of that guild, and introduced the polished style of the Wierix brothers into Germany. We have already mentioned the Holy Family of Rottenhamer, whose graphical reproduction by Raphael Sadeler was copied and coloured for our album by a Moghul painter. The little series of the Passion, from which several were used to fill up the space above the larger compositions, is probably by Raphael Sadeler the younger (pl. 42), as is also the bust of St. John the Baptist signed R. S. and pasted in between specimens of writing on p. 9a.

There is, on p. 8a, a good proof of the flaying of Marsyas by Theodore Galle from John Stradanus (p. 8a); the unpleasant subject does not seem to have disturbed that Emperor, who allowed the insertion of an even more gruesome scene in his album (pl. 2). Whether the missionaries brought it with them, under the pretext that it was the martyrdom of St. Bartholomew, or whether they explained its mythological character, must remain uncertain.

On p. 9a (pl. 43) there is a little engraving which it is difficult to identify. It portrays the ape on the tree which Dürer has engraved in his famous *Madonna*. It has been altered here in some details, obviously by an anonymous imitator of Dürer of the end of the sixteenth century. (This variant is mentioned by Heller, No. 642.)

The specimens of writing which were favourite centre pieces for figured border paintings, bear witness to the great importance which was attributed in this collection to the work of calligraphists, standing out as they do from the brilliant flowers and arabesque work of the gold background, in cartouches like curved clouds. The way

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in which they were produced may have been as follows : the calligraphist arranged the short text—generally some lines of Persian poetry—according to his fancy, either horizontally, diagonally, or in some other direction, but keeping in mind the fact that it was to be illuminated later. The lines were then edged round very carefully, special attention being paid to the æsthetic balance between the writing and the outline. The space in between was gilded by the illuminator, and illumined in delicate colours with branches or foliage, arabesques, ornamental “ tchis ”, etc. The page was only then pasted on to the sheet, and if it did not fill up the space allotted they added various smaller decorations, or even other specimens of writing were sometimes cut up in order to fit them in better. Put together in this fashion it is not surprising that the specimens do not form a complete whole ; they run sometimes vertically, sometimes horizontally, are sometimes quite different sized scripts, and are without any real connection with each other.

Although in other Indian albums examples of various modes of writing were collected, ours all belong to the cursive Talīq form, to the larger kind of this, which was specially adapted for decorative work, as well as to the smaller, the Nastalīq. This had, since the fifteenth century, taken the place of the Arabic *Naskhī* as the national running hand, and in the sixteenth century it was also in general use in India. Doubtless Mīr ‘Alī al-Kātib of Mashhad introduced it to the Moghul court. He is wrongly described as the inventor of Nastalīq ; he was, however, one of its greatest pioneers ; he died in India in 1529.<sup>1</sup> Most of the examples of calligraphy in our album are from his hand, that is presuming that the signatures—which do not always belong to the scripts—are to be taken as authentic. We have no reliable reason to doubt them, for all the questionable pages are unmistakably written by the same hand and show great mastery, and it is not to be supposed that in a luxurious work specially ordered for the Imperial Library imitations with false signatures would have been accepted. Connoisseurship about these things was very widely spread in the East, and frauds would be much more easily noticed than, for example, with miniatures ; in any case they would certainly not have escaped Jahāngīr or his advisers.

The calligrapher has chosen various forms of signature. He several times calls himself simply ‘Alī, more often Mīr ‘Alī with or without the addition of *al-kātib* (the scribe) and generally with the customary modest epithet *faqīr* (the poor), sometimes also with one of the current pious forms of conclusion—and always without stating the year (see pls. 21–3, 25, 26, 28–30). Once, on p. 22a, the signature runs ‘Alī al-Kātib as-Sultānī, and although the character of the script shows no noticeable difference, it brings us into rather a difficulty. It seems that a second famous master, a contemporary and bearing the same name, signed his works Mīr ‘Alī of Herat

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Huart, *Les calligraphes et miniat. de l'Orient*, p. 225, Paris, 1908.

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(Harawī). He lived in Bokhara and died there in 1544 (according to Karabacek not till 1558), and was considered then as the first authority in Nastalīq. In literature the two are repeatedly confused although several of the works ascribed to Mashhadī owing to their later date can only have come from Harawī.<sup>1</sup> In our case, in view of the lack of any distinguishing marks, it seems unsafe to attribute this one page to the calligraphist of Herat; a more precise decision in a question of this kind would only be possible if we had more reliable sources and better material for comparison.

The 'Alī of Herat is said to be the pupil of the famous Sultān 'Alī of Mashhad. We are quite clear as to the personality of the latter, and several manuscripts from his hand are still in existence. He appears several times in our Album, twice in company with his countryman Mīr 'Alī (p. 14b, Sultān 'Alī al-Mashhadi; p. 6a, Sultān 'Alī), and yet again in several specimens in one of which it is specially stated that it is by him and came from the palace of the Sultan at Herat (p. 24a, pl. 24).<sup>2</sup>

A third calligrapher, whose heavier mode of writing appears on p. 18a (pl. 20), is easily distinguished from the two above named. We will not undertake to say whether there is his signature in the little space in one corner at the top. Other masters may have written the unsigned pages (pl. 27, pp. 4a, 17a, 18a, 19a).

<sup>1</sup> For instance, a Gulistān of 1543 for Sultan 'Azīz of Bokhara (the Marteau collection) and another of 1532 in the Véver collection. See Schulz, *Die pers. islam Miniaturemalerei*, p. 171 *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> It clearly belongs to the column beside it, the lines of the verses alternating in horizontal and diagonal script. The second signature belongs to both the Ruba'iats on the left and is separated into two little triangles.

# Appendix

## I THE JESUITS AT THE MOGHUL COURT

THE great though transitory influence of the Jesuits at the Moghul court is a peculiar and unusual phenomenon in Muslim lands, and it is very difficult to understand how it was possible. Curiosity as to their *objets d'art* and their knowledge certainly played its part, as did also political considerations. But the roots must lie deeper. The predecessors of Akbar and Jahāngīr, the Mongols from whom they traced their descent, had shown similar tendencies several centuries earlier. Chingiz Khān never actually went over to Christianity but he protected it in every way, and there was a time when it seemed as if the Mongol kings of the dynasty of the Īlkhāns would give themselves up entirely to the teaching of Jesus. Even after Islam was finally victorious Turkish Central Asia stood slightly apart in matters of religion. The Turks did not go so far as to form a separate church or sect, but there was a tendency towards that mysticism which, indifferent to the outward forms of religion, and strong in the inward experience of God, regarded Mosque, Church, and fire-worshippers' Temple as equally unimportant husks enclosing the kernel of true religious belief. The mountainous districts from Farghānah down to the Indus were the holy land of these mystics, and in Badakhshān there were princes who were venerated as the religious heads of wide-spread mystic orders. Bābur, the founder of the Moghul empire, was allied to them, and his successors also regarded them as holy men who ought to be worshipped. Akbar himself, in spite of his many-sided scepticism, showed the mentality of a typical mystic. "My father never forgot God for a moment," writes Jahāngīr. And he underwent all the spiritual changes characteristic of the mystics, even as far as ecstasy. His whole conduct is explained by this, his inquiries as to all religions, and his leaning towards an eclectic syncretism. Here the atmosphere of India certainly helped. The formation of a monotheistic religion on a mystic basis had already been attempted by other Moslem rulers of India before him, 'Alā-ad-dīn Khiljī and Husain Shāh of Bengal.

At the time when he was yet a staunch Muhammadan, Akbar had a passion for pilgrimages to the tombs of the great mystics. Later on he gave himself up more and more to theological studies, and heard—for he could neither read nor write—the discussions of the most important theologians in a house specially erected for the purpose, the 'Ibādat-Khānah of Fathpur-Sikrī. He soon broke with the orthodox Sunni Mullās, and turned entirely to Sufism. At this time he began to examine the

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sacred writings of other religions, and drew to his disputations important teachers from among the Parsees, Jainas, and Christians. He took from all of them certain doctrines and rites, without however adopting another faith himself. In 1582 he formulated a religious doctrine of his own, called the *Dīn-i-Ilāhī* or *Tauhīd-i-Ilāhī*, a mixture of Muslim Sufism and Zoroastrianism, with an undercurrent of Jaina ceremonies for everyday life. This eclectic doctrine had hardly any followers outside the court, and it was not the purpose of the Emperor to spread it by force and compulsion. With the exception of Islam, which he persecuted fanatically, he patronized all other religious communities. Among these it was the mission of the Jesuits which, thanks to its excellent leaders, understood how to obtain the special favour of Akbar.

In 1578 he had himself approached the Portuguese authorities of Goa to send him some missionaries "who shall bring with them holy books, especially the gospels, which I earnestly desire to understand, and from which I hope to gain the greatest comfort". Two years later his wish was fulfilled by the arrival of Fathers Ridolfo Aquaviva and Antonio Monserrate at Fathpūr-Sikrī. They were received extremely well, given a convenient place of residence, and not only preached undisturbed but were entrusted with the education of Prince Murād. They did not, however, achieve what they had hoped. The Emperor, who had led them to expect that he would become a convert to Christianity, kept them in a state of perpetual uncertainty. While protesting to them his friendliness to the King of Portugal and the Pope, he at the same time allowed the seizure of the Portuguese ports on the west coast of India. They finally returned disheartened in 1583. In 1590, however, Akbar sent from Lahore a fresh letter to the Jesuits at Goa in which he asked for more missionaries, "from whose holy teaching I hope to be brought again from death unto life, as their Lord Jesus Christ came to earth from Heaven and raised many from death unto life." And although in the meantime the serious Muhammadan persecutions had begun, the Father Provincial took fresh hope, and sent Fathers Edward Leyton and Christopher da Vega to the Imperial court. They returned in 1592, however, for they saw that Akbar wanted to learn their doctrine indeed, but not to follow it. Their recall was disapproved at Rome, however. In 1595, on the renewed request of the Great Moghul, a third mission was sent to Lahore, consisting of Jeronimo Xavier, Benedict á Goes, and Emanuel Pinheiro. They were received with extraordinary favour by Akbar, and so highly honoured that the Emperor allowed them a place on the carpet which usually had only been occupied by the Crown Prince and himself. They had their own College, and were allowed to build churches in Āgrā and Lahore around which small Christian communities gathered by degrees. This mission had a longer existence. It lasted until the days of Akbar's grandson Shāh Jahān, when the mission at Āgrā was orphaned by the death of Father Busaeus, and the Empress Mumtāz-Mahāl began a bitter persecution of the Christians.

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Although neither Akbar nor his son Jahāngīr were converted to Christianity, they took the liveliest interest in it. They both took part in the divine service of the Jesuits, who were allowed to march through the streets of the town in open procession. Father Xavier translated the life of Christ for the emperor into Persian under the title of *Mir'āt-al-Quds*. In 1598 the father writes from Lahore to his superior :—

“ When I had to lay before the emperor the letter delivered to me by the Father Provincial, I presented him on the Father's behalf with two exquisite pictures made in Japan : one of Christ our Lord, the other of the Blessed Father Ignatius. They were much admired ; but the picture of the Blessed Father Ignatius was especially pleasing to the Emperor, as it was new and he had never seen it before. He enquired whom it represented, and when I had explained this at some length he asked me to write his life in Persian for the good of the whole kingdom.”

As this and many similar accounts testify, Christian pictures were thus imported from Goa, especially some of the Virgin Mary. Akbar had several of these copied, some by his own and some by Portuguese painters.

After Akbar's death in 1605 there was a reaction, when in order to win the Muhammadan party to himself, the Crown Prince was obliged to promise them the restitution of Islam. Only when he felt himself sufficiently secure of the throne did Jahāngīr return to the policy of his father, and show his favour to the Jesuits, though only in the same external way as the latter had done. Guerreiro mentions this in 1609.

“ In all these conversations in which the above subjects were mooted, the King manifested always much love towards Christ our Lord. He would speak with great boldness in favour of the use of images, though they be very unpopular with the Moors. And so, on coming from Lahor, he found his palaces of Agra well <sup>1</sup> decorated and painted over with sundry pictures, which had already been made, and others which were being executed, inside as well as outside in a *varanda* where he comes to sit daily to be seen by the people. Nearly all these paintings bore on sacred subjects ; for on the ceiling and in the middle of it was painted an image of Christ our Lord, very artistically done, with a halo and a circle of Angels, and on the wall there were some saints in miniature, as St. John the Baptist, St. Anthony, St. Bernardine, and others, as also some women Saints. In another part were some Portuguese painted in large size and very well done ; and along the wall on the outside, where is the window (*jharokha*) near which the king is seated when he shows himself to the people, there had been previously some life-size paintings of the King's

<sup>1</sup> See also F. Martin, *Miniature Painting and Painters in Persia, India, and Turkey*, 1912, vol. ii, pl. 216, on the left. C. Stanley Clark, *Indian Drawings: Thirty Moghul Paintings of the School of Jahangir in the Wantage Bequest*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1922, pl. 5, No. 7.



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favourites, but these he ordered to efface, and in their stead he caused to be painted very artistically several Portuguese soldiers, of large size and well placed so that they are seen from the whole public square. On each side of the window there are three of them, and above them, on the right, is painted Christ our Lord, holding the orb in his hand ; to the left, the Virgin our Lady, copied in life size from the painting of Saint Luke. On the sides of these images are others of various saints placed as if in prayer. And, as the window where the king sits is made in the form of a niche, and painted all over, he had his two sons painted very richly in full length on the same wall. Above one of his sons is a miniature figure of Christ our Lord, and a Father of the Society with a book in his hand ; above the other is seen the Virgin our Lady. Within the cavity of the niche are the pictures of St. Paul, St. Gregory, and St. Ambrose. It is a matter of much consolation to the Fathers when they are waiting there upon the king to recite their rosary before the image of the Virgin our Lady, and to commend themselves to Christ our Lord. Whenever the Moors see these pictures they are astonished, whereas the Fathers return many thanks to God seeing thus exposed to the public gaze, in the palace of an infidel king, the images of Christ our Lord, of the Virgin our Lady, and of his Saints ; for truly it looks more like the varanda of a pious and Catholic king than that of a Moor. In the interior of the palaces, the paintings which are on the walls of the halls and on the ceiling of them all, represent mysteries of Christ our Lord, and scenes from the acts of the Apostles, taken from their life, which the Fathers had given him, also St. Anne and Susanna, and various other stories. All this is designed by the king himself without anyone speaking to him about it. From the pictures which he has <sup>1</sup> he chooses himself the figures which are to be painted, enjoining on the painters to go and learn from the Fathers what colours they should use for the garments of each figure, and that they should not depart a tittle from what they tell them. This is a painful eyesore to the Moors. They are so averse to pictures that they do not suffer to be represented those of their own faith whom they look upon as saints, much less those of the Christian faith which they so much dislike.

“ The king had executed a large painting of Christ at the Pillar in imitation of a picture. . . . He wished, moreover, this large painting to serve as a model for a fabric entirely woven out of silk, which he ordered to be made with the same figures of the Christ at the Pillar, and with an inscription in Persian of the same make. In one of the tableaux of one of the halls he had made from a design in his possession whole length paintings of the Pope, the Emperor King Philip, and the Duke of Savoy, whose portraits he possessed. They are all represented on their knees, adoring the holy Cross, which stands in the middle.

<sup>1</sup> European engravings are probably intended here.

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“ Father John Alvares, the Assistant for Portugal, sent him from Rome a picture of Our Lady and of the Adoration of the Magi. One cannot imagine how much he valued it, and because it came into his hands first, before reaching the Fathers, he sent for them as soon as he got it, and showing it publicly before all the people, he invited one of the Fathers to explain to him the meaning of that mystery. After them, he explained it to all his courtiers, and all the while holding the same picture in his hands and showing it to all, he explained to them the story of the Nativity of our Lord and of the Adoration of the Magi, so that he looked like a preacher in the pulpit. He then directed the Fathers to have it framed and neatly adorned and placed on a roller, that it might not get torn up or damaged, when rolling up and unrolling. All around, along the sides of the frame, the Fathers painted certain designs in black and white, after a drawing taken from our books and pictures. The king was very much pleased with them, and among the designs he ordered his own portrait to be painted, in a place which he chose for the purpose.

“ Through the use and sight of these images as well as through the conversations of the Fathers and the explanations they gave him of them, the king is very well instructed in almost all the mysteries of Christ our Lord and of the Virgin our Lady, and he prides himself on it before his grandees. One night, as the Fathers were with him, among other pictures he gave them to see was one of our Lord’s Circumcision. The king, beckoning to the Father to keep silent, asked first of some of his nobles whether they understood what it meant. On their answering they did not, he explained it to them, and next inquired of the Father whether he had explained it right. ‘ You have,’ answered the Father, at which he was much pleased and rejoined : ‘ I know these things very well.’

“ In short, the esteem in which he holds Christ our Lord and the Virgin our Lady is so high that all the grants he makes and letters he sends, whether to the Moors, to the Gentios (Hindus), or to the Christians, he seals inside after his manner with his royal signet ; but he seals them outside with the image of Christ our Lord and of our Lady. For this he has an instrument of gold resembling small pincers, in the extremities of which are set certain emeralds, each as large in surface as a thumb-nail. Engraved on these are the said figures, which he stamps upon the sealing-wax with which he joins the corners of the letter.”

This more than remarkable account is not the only testimony to the cultivation of Christian art by Jahāngīr. He had the grave of his father at Sikandra painted with Christian frescoes. Manucci, who had seen it a short time before its destruction by Aurungzīb (1659–1707), says of it :—

“ This mausoleum is a very large dome of great height, made all of marble adorned with many kinds of precious stones, the roof all gilded and enamelled in

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many pleasing colours. The garden is very large and pleasant, walled in on all sides, with various seats inside. There were drawings of human figures. Over these the king Aurangzeb ordered a coat of whitewash to be applied so that the drawings might not be seen. He said such things were prohibited by the Mahomedan religion. I obtained entrance to this garden several times to inspect the mausoleum, being anxious to see the above-named figures before Aurangzeb should order them to be covered over.

“ The figures in the principal gateway of the garden were a crucifix, the Virgin Mary, and Saint Ignatius. I had a great desire to obtain entrance into the great dome I have spoken of, and at last one of the officials at the mausoleum, who was a friend of mine, and also wanted to make use of me, believing I was a physician, took me with him. I should make a bow such as he made, with great reverence and punctiliousness, just as if the king were still alive. He opened the door, and I joined him in making a very low bow in total silence, then barefooted I went round and saw everything. As I have already said, there was a holy crucifix delineated on the wall, on the right hand of the crucifix the image of Our Lady with the infant Jesus in her arms, while on the left was Saint Ignatius, the whole delineated. In the ceiling of the dome were great angels and cherubim and many other painted figures. There were also many censers which were lighted every day. . . .”

There can thus be no doubt that our miniatures form a part of this fashionable Christianity—for it is not likely that this was more than a half serious game. If we have not in them examples of those copies which Akbar and Jahāngīr had made from the Christian pictures brought by the Jesuits, at least our previous examination of the original engravings has established that they certainly came to the Moghul court in the same way, probably at the time of the third Jesuit mission, that is, for the greatest part, in the time of Jahāngīr.

## 2 SIR THOMAS ROE'S ACCOUNT

We give in the following extract the parts from Sir Thomas Roe's account of his embassy at the court of Jahāngīr which seem to us especially interesting because they throw a light on the attitude of the Emperor and his painters towards European art.

On one occasion he writes :—

“ I said to Asaph Chan . . . that I had a Pickture of a frend of myne that I esteemed very much, and was for a Curiositye rare, which I would give his Maiestie as a present, seeing hee so much affected that art ; assuring myself he never saw any equall to it, neither was any thing more esteemed of mee. He answered it was not good to Moue yt publicuely, it might bring forth opposition and dispute : but

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that I should relye on him . . . Asaph Chan asked mee for my little Picture and presented it to the king. He tooke extreame Content, showeing it to euerie man neare him ; at last sent for his Cheefe Paynter, demanding his opinion. The foole answered he could make as good. Wherat the king turned to mee, saying : my man sayth he can do the like and as well as this : what say yow ? I replied : I knew the Contrarie. But if he doe, said he, what will you say ? I answered : I would give 10,000 *rupies* for such a Coppy of his hand, for I knowe non in Europe but the same master can performe it. Nay, said the king, I will call 4 Paynters, my Cheefe worke men . . . Asaph Chan offered 5,000 *rupies*. I replied I was Content, but mony was no honourable bett, especially among frendes : but I would lay a good horse. Soe the match was agreed on. . . . *August 6.* I was sent for to the *Durbar*. The busines was about a Picture I had lately given the king and was Confident that noe man in India could equall yt. . . . He concluded that I should come to the Guzelchan, and then I should see the Picturs. At night hee sent for mee, beeing hastie to triumph in his woorkman, and shewed me 6 Pictures, 5 made by his man, all pasted on one table, so like that I was by candle-light troubled to discerne which was which ; I confess beyond all expectation ; yet I shewed myne owne and the differences, which were in arte apparent, but not to be iudged by a Common eye. But for that at first sight I knew it not, hee was very merry and Ioyfull and craked like a Northern man. . . . Wherat I showed him a Picture I had of his Maiestie farr infearior to the woorke I now sawe, which caused mee to iudg of all other by that which was deliuered mee as the best. He asked me where I had it ? I tould him. Why, said hee, doe you buy any such things ? Haue not I the best, and haue I not tould yow I will give you what soeuer you desiered ? I thancked his Maiestie, but that I held it not Ciuilitie to trouble him in such trifles. . . .”

Another time Sir Thomas Roe sent for a number of larger pictures :—

“ . . . Hee called for them, and caused them to be opened, examined me of the women, [Lady Montague and Lady Molyneux] and other little questions, requiring many iudgements of them. Of the third Picture, of Venus and a Satyre, he commanded my Interpreter not to tell me what he said, but asked his Lords what they conceiued should be the interpretation or morall of that. He shewed the Satyres hornes, his skinne, which was swart, and pointed to many particulars. Euery man replied according to his fancie ; but in the end hee concluded they were all deceiud : and seeing they could iudge no better, hee would keepe his conceit to himselfe, iterating his command to conceale this passage from me ; but bade him aske me what it meant. I answered : An Inuention of the Painter to shew his arte, which was Poeticall, but the interpretation was New to mee that had not seene it. . . . This I repeate for instruction, to warne the company and him that

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shall succeed me to be very wary what they send may be subject to ill Interpretation ; for in that point this king and people are very pregnant and scrupulous, full of iealousie and trickes. . . . But I suppose he vnderstood the Morall to be a scorne of Asiatiques, whom the naked Satyre represented, and was of the same complexion, and not vnlike ; who, being held by Venus, a white woman, by the Nose, it seemed that shee led him Captiue.”

On the 12th March, 1617, Roe was invited to the great New Year reception.

“ The Throne was the same vsed the last yeare, and all the other furniture. At the vpper end was set the King my Soueraignes Picture, the Queenes, my Lady Elizabeths, Sir Thomas Smiths and some others, two pieces of good and fine Tapistrie below them that came from Persia ; a Throne of Gold set all ouer with Rubies, Emeralds and Turqueis ; and the old Musicke of singing Whores ” (he means Bayaderes).

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<sup>1</sup> On these pages he is called Khān-Khānān.    <sup>2</sup> On this page called Manmatī Jagat Gosāinī.    <sup>3</sup> Here Muhammad Nādir Samargandī.

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  38. Border paintings : Bālchand, p. 13b. Gōvardhan, p. 25b. A Saint with disciple, p. 8b. Actual size.
  39. Two painters at their work. p. 12a. Actual size.  
Kēsavadās, dated 1590. p. 25a. Slightly reduced.
  40. Wandering ascetic. p. 6b.  $\frac{3}{4}$  actual size.  
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  41. Copy of a Holy Family, by Rottenhamer. p. 1b.  $\frac{3}{4}$  actual size.  
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  43. Engraving after Dürer. Ape on Tree. p. 9a.

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Engravings after Dürer. Cf. Pl. 30.

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(Upper) Engraving by R. Sadeler after J. Rottenhamer. 1601. Cf. Pl. 41.

(Lower) Engraving by H. S. Beham. Cf. Pl. 29.

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# PLATES















Page 12a : Sea Fight : Detail from Plate 31.





Page 15a: The Harim in the Mountains: Detail from Plate 32.











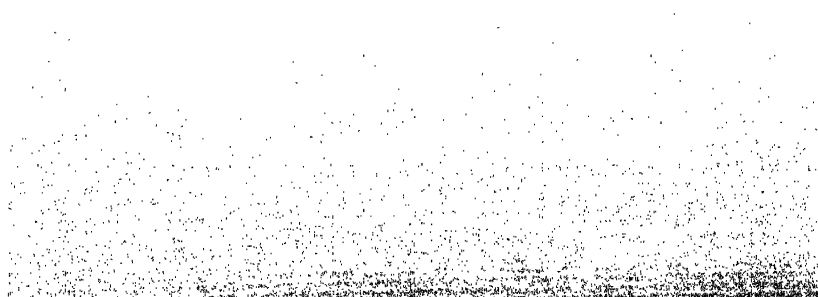


شبه خضر خان خاندیسی





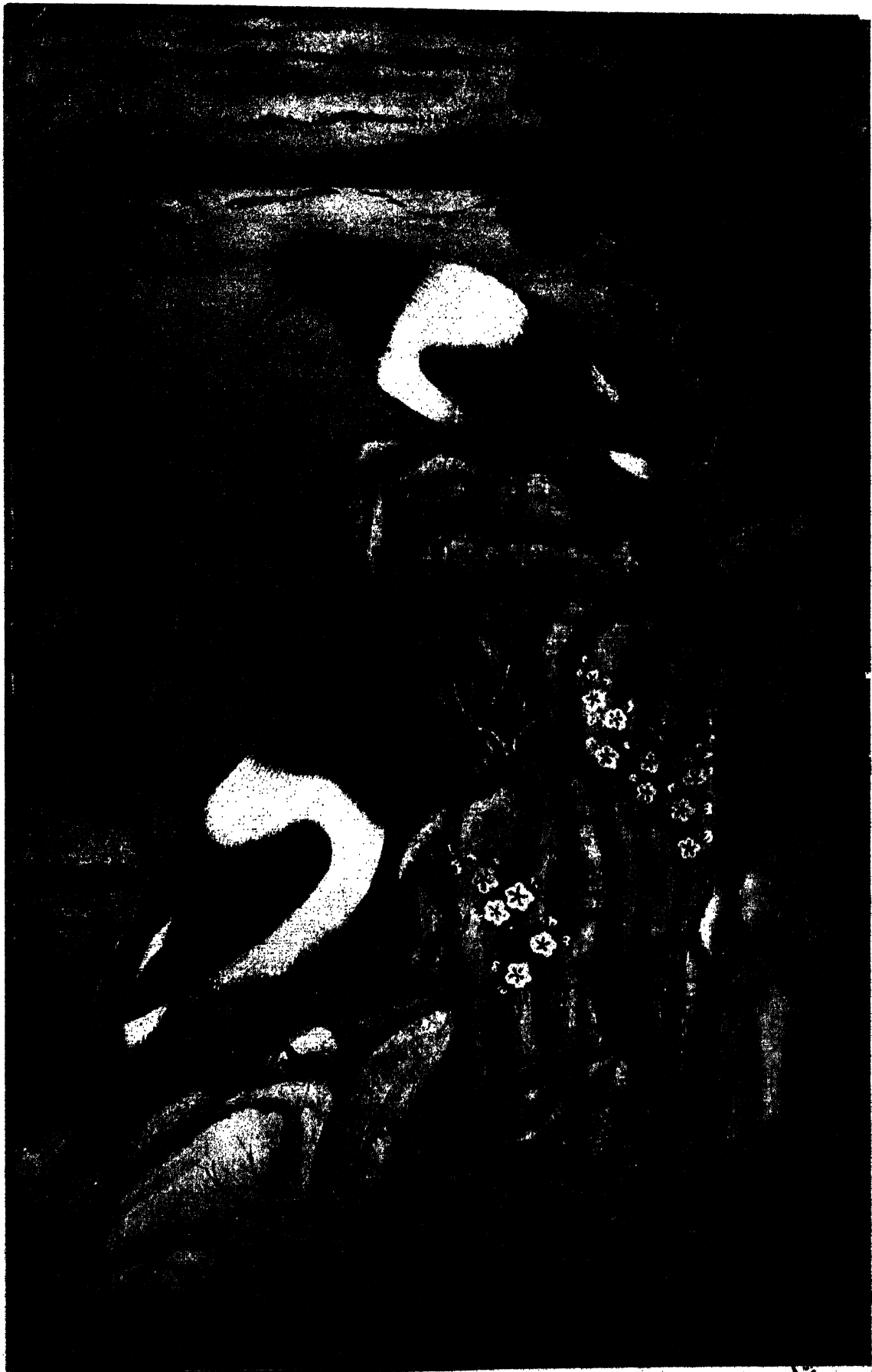
شاهزاده بختیار خان کلاوند که در اماندا خاں لاجانی سود را چهر آورده ملازم است





Page 5b: Portrait of a Young Man.





Page 17b: Ustād Mansūr (?). Magpies.

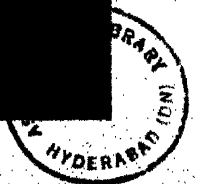




Plate 9.







Page 2b : Border : Detail from Plate 25.





Plate 24a: Emperor Humāyūn: Detail from Plate 24

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Page 8b : Page with Horse : Border detail.



Page 22a : Emperor Jahāngīr and Shaikh Salīm Chisti : Border detail.





Page 10a: Princess and Maid Servants: Border detail.



Page 10a: Prince and Vizir: Border detail.



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Page 6a : Rājput Princess : Border detail.



Page 6a : Falconer : Border detail.





Page 12b : Tiger hunt : Detail from Plate 23.



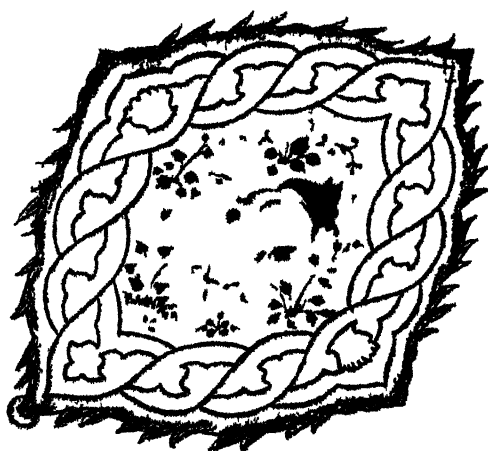
Page 15b : Gazelle hunt : Detail from Plate 27.





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Page 20a : Duel : Detail from Plate 22.



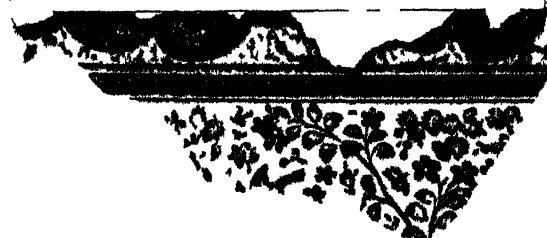
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Page 4b : Medallion from border.



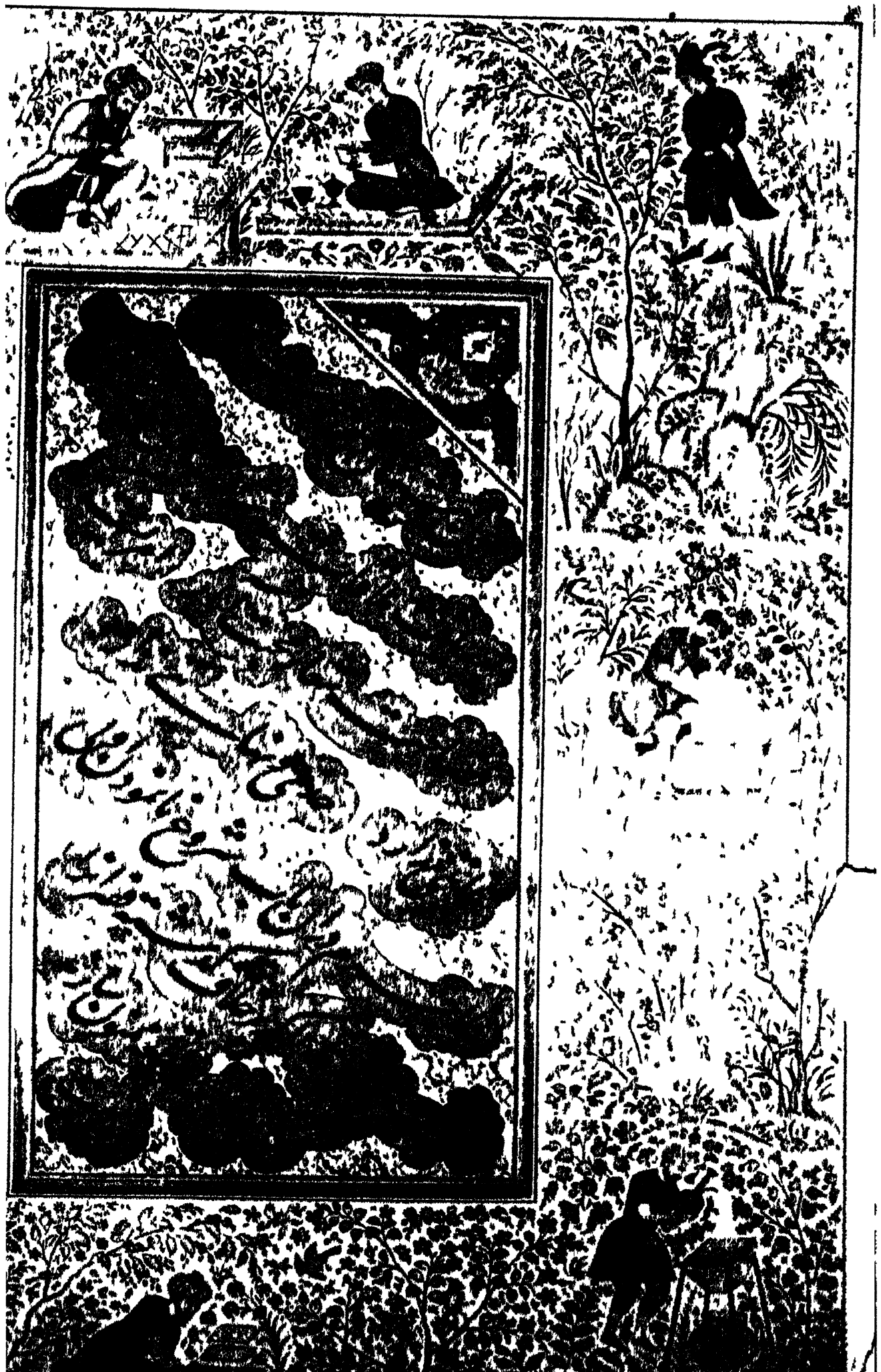


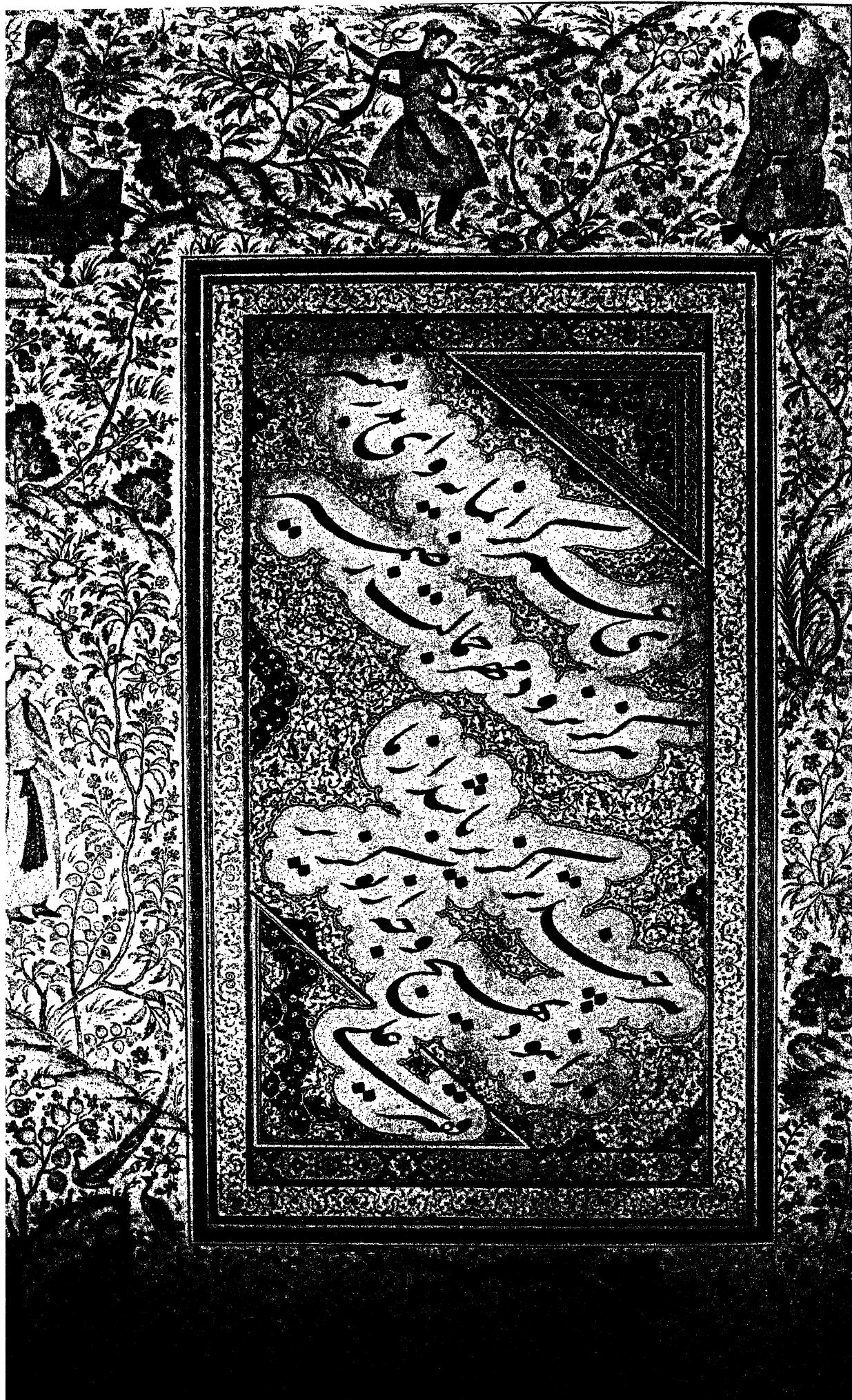
Page 21b: Making Sherbet: Border Detail.

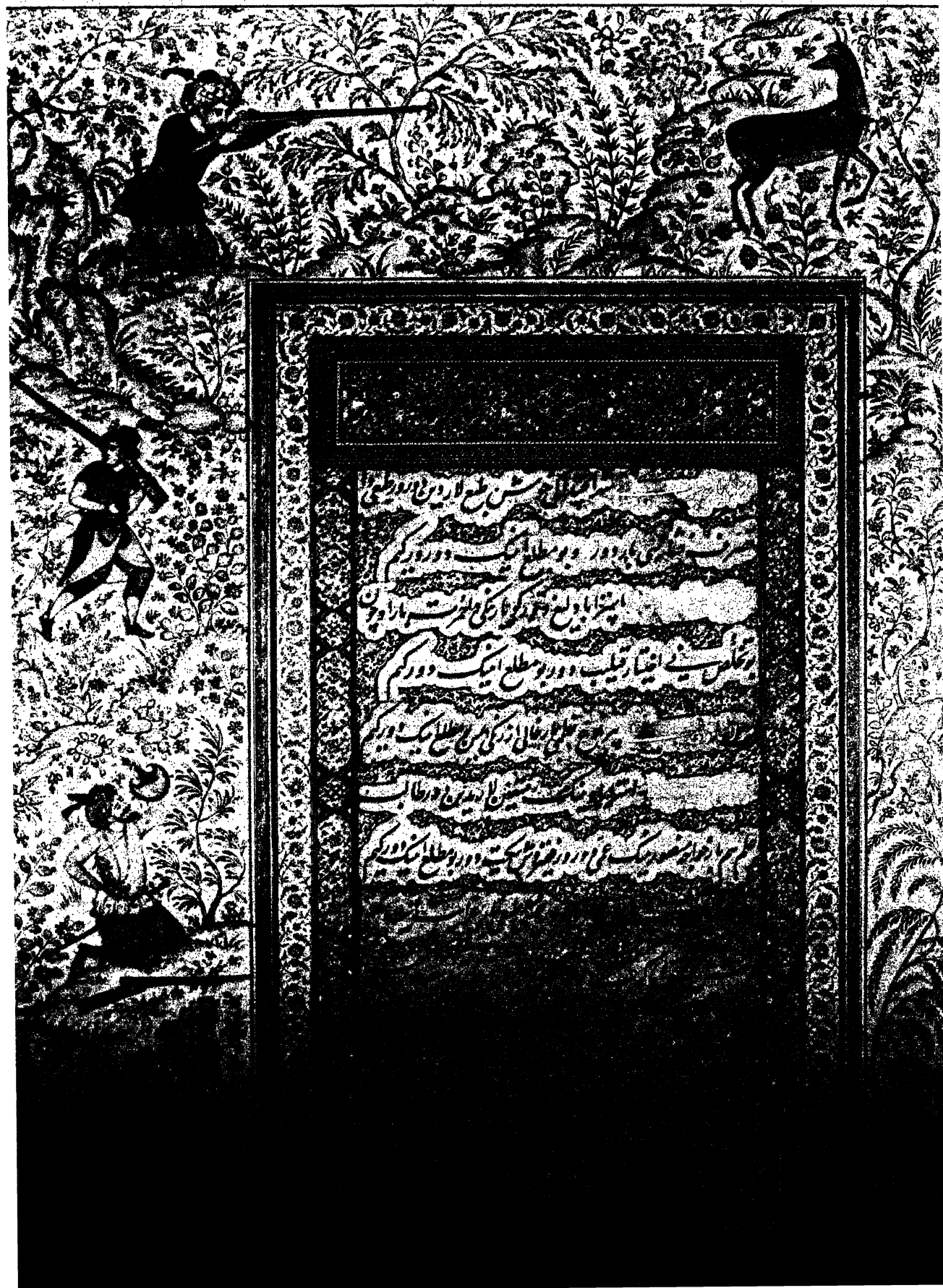










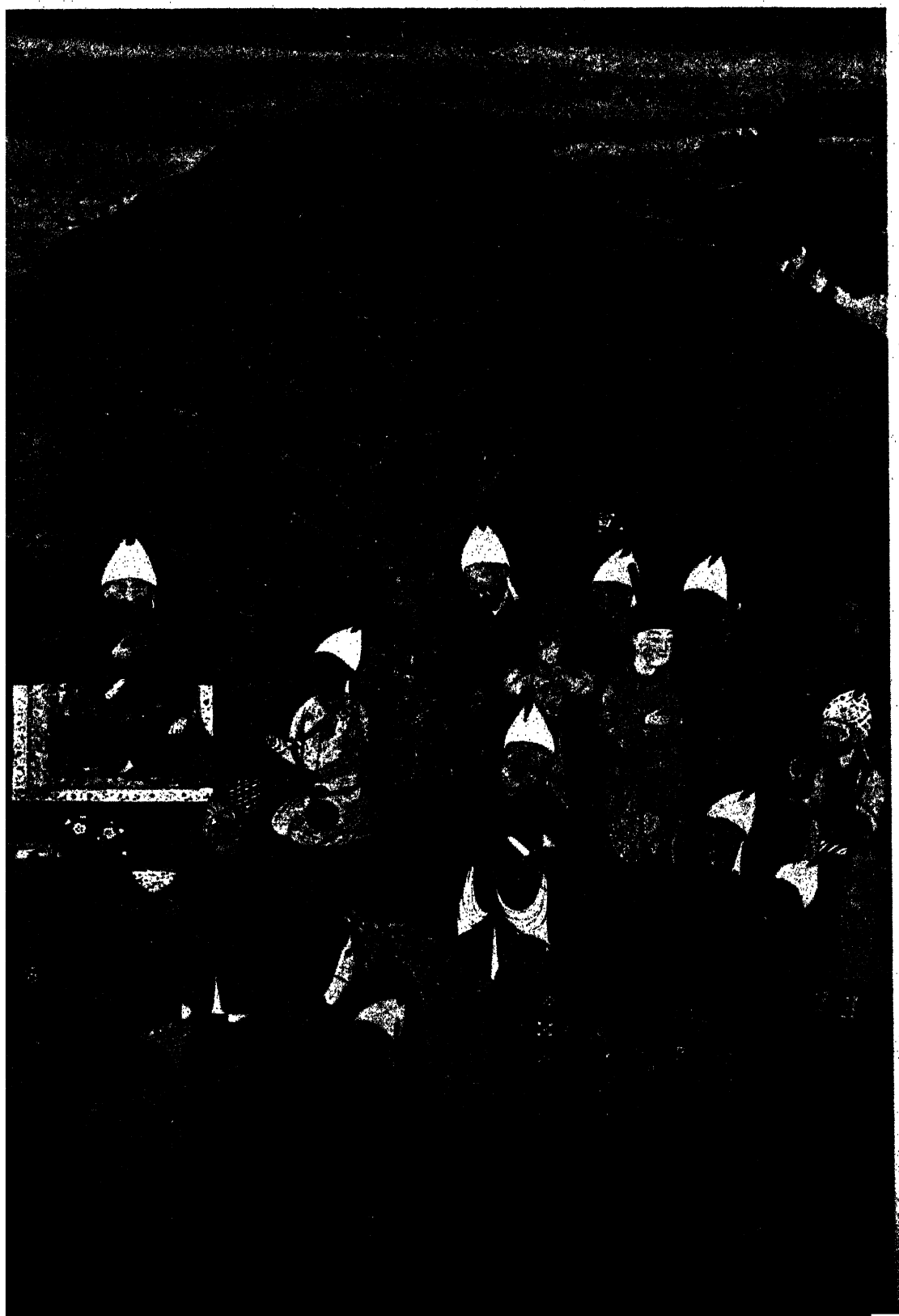


دین کو نہ جسے دلاؤ نہ کہہ  
عاشق نہ بلا چہ کہ نہ پر نہ کہہ













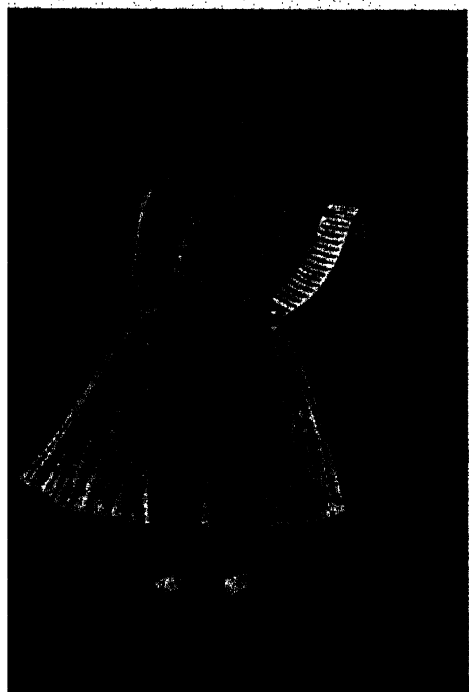
Singh

Bishndâs feb. 1608

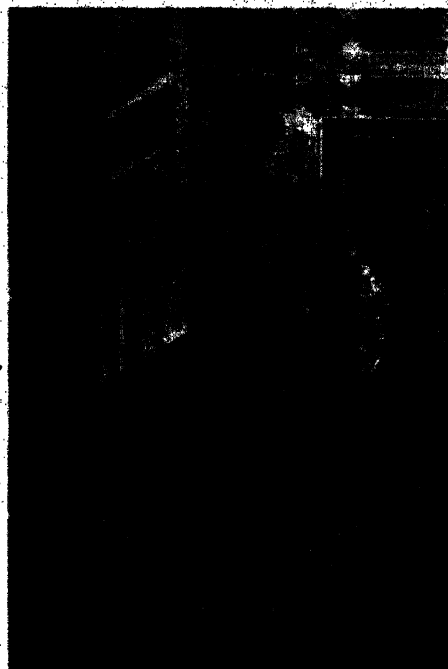


Râna Karan





fol. 20b: Asaf Khân



fol. 18b





fol. 18b

Manôshahr fec.



fol. 18b





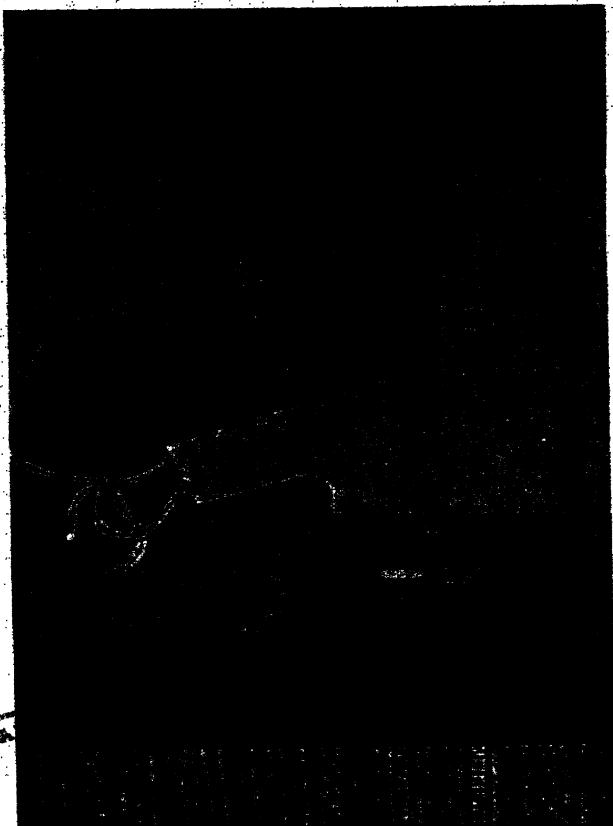
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Gövardhan fec. 1409

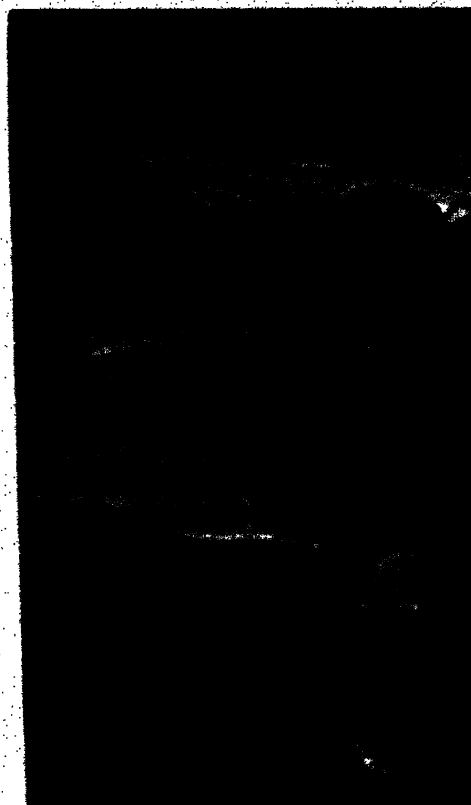
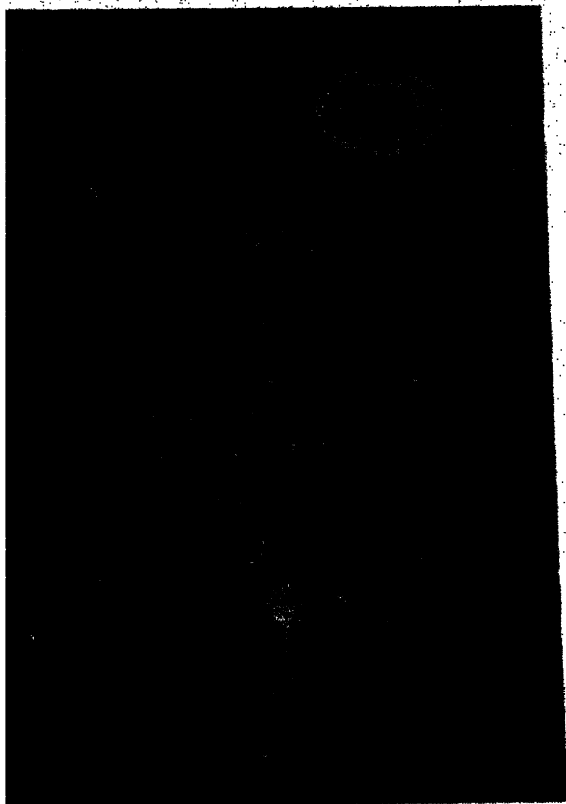


fol. 8b

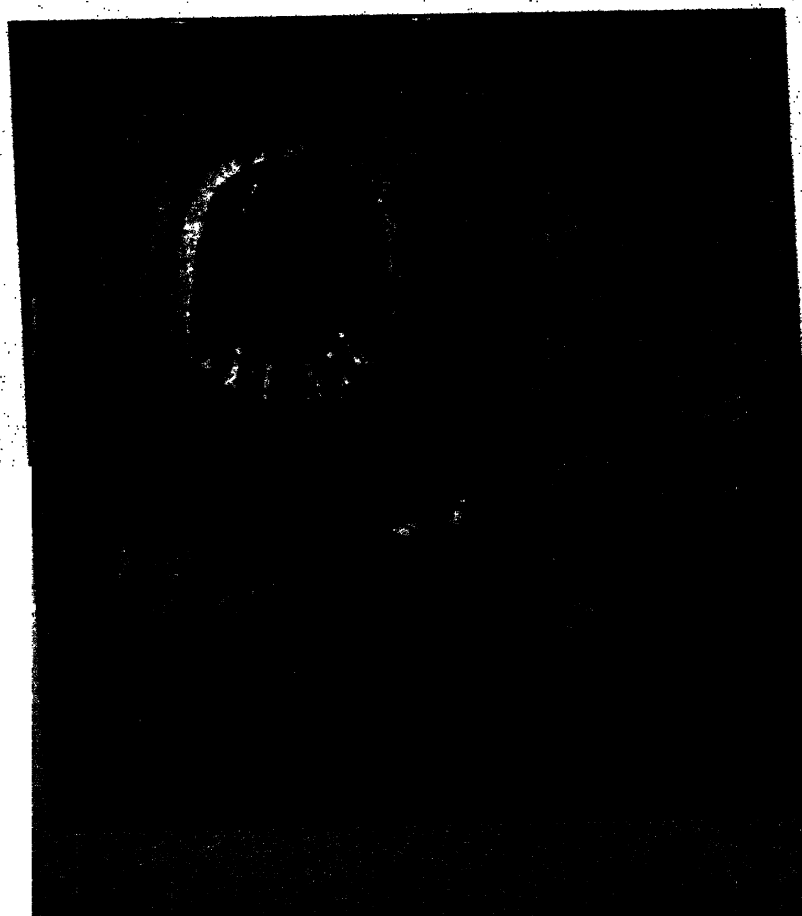


fol. 21 a





fol. 6b

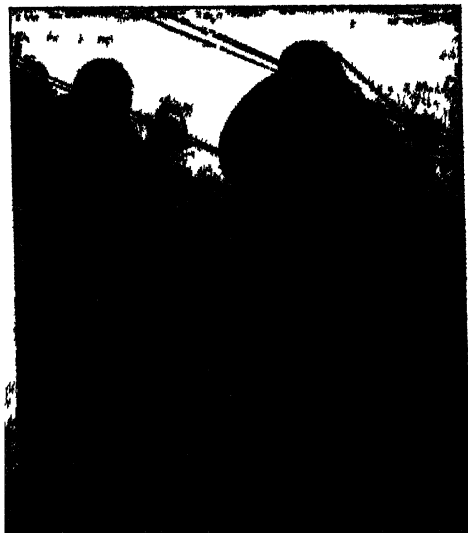




fol. 1b

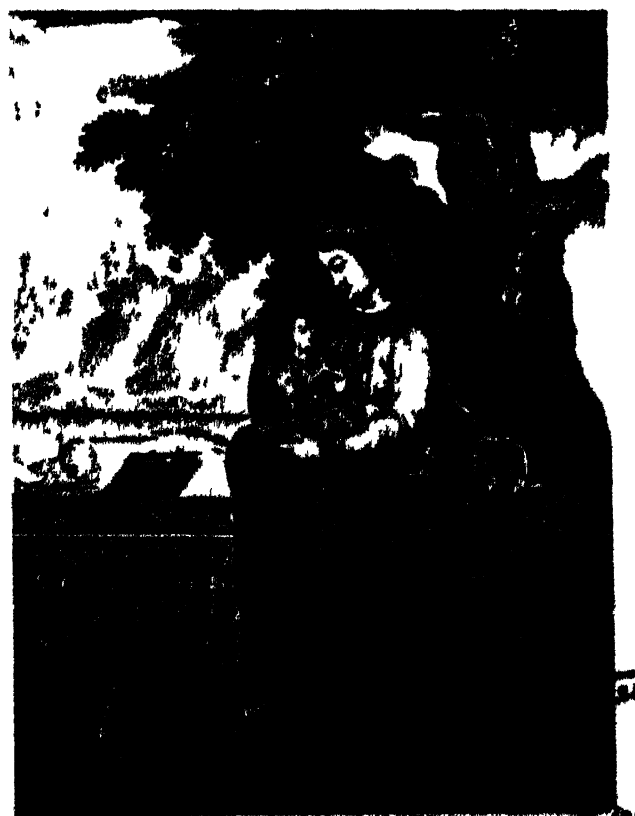


fol. 10b





fol. 8a



fol. 2a

Königsberg





fol. 9a

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